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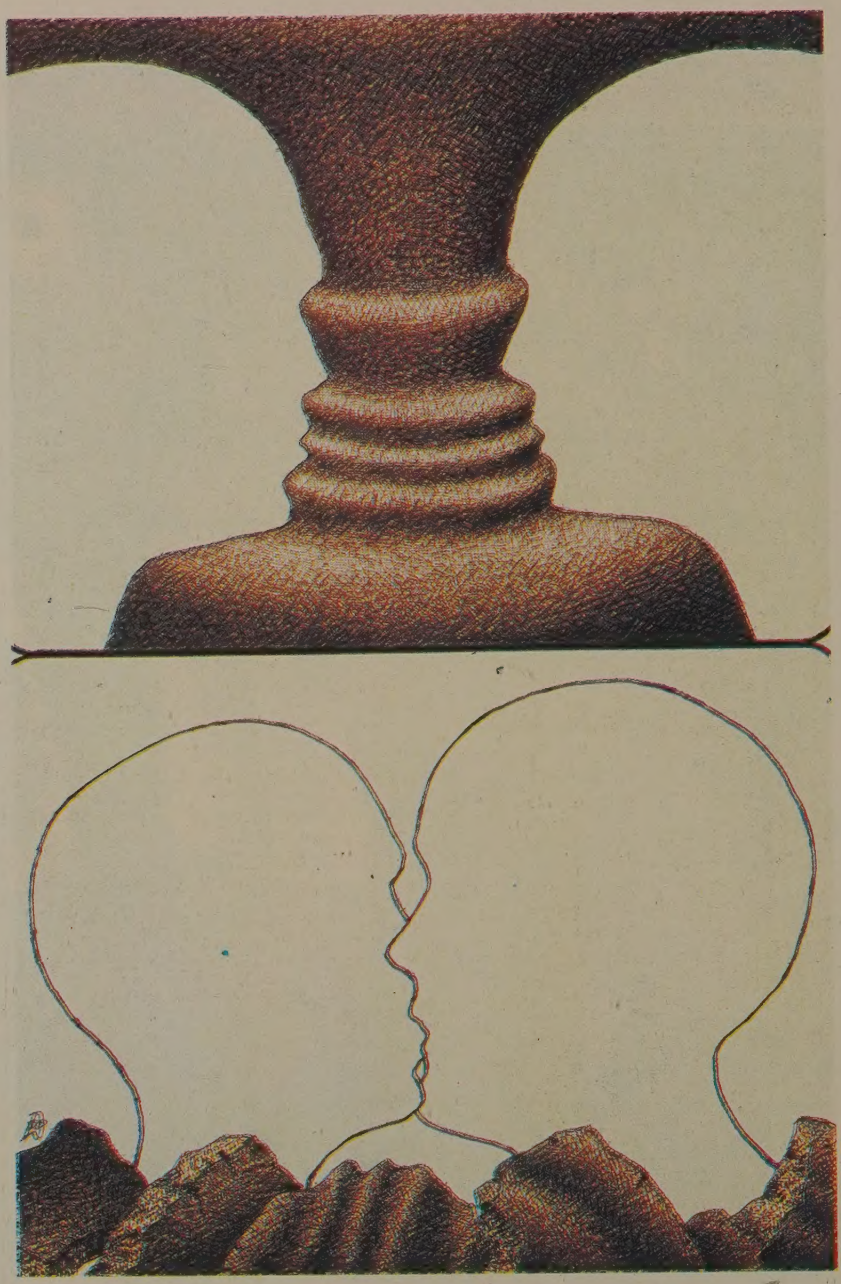

VLADISLAV DANILOV

A SOVIET WEEKLY

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From our mailbag

■ In the two centuries' existence of the city on the Neva, 7 monuments have been erected to its founder. And the number of monuments built in commemoration of the leader of the socialist revolution is almost equal to the number of years which have passed since his death. It is an obvious excess, and even more as there are a lot of other attributes of his immortalization. The name of the Leningrad Order of Lenin Metropolitan named after Lenin is already taken as a joke.

Yu.Nedlin (his letter appeared in No.6/91) seems to think that the old name of the city – Petersburg – is dedicated to Peter the First, and for this reason he mentions the emperor with unkind words. But it wasn't in his own honor that Peter so named the city, rather reckoning on the protection of St.Peter, apostle and keeper of the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. It is not known where St.Peter admitted his namesake-despot – to heaven or hell. But it is clear that the Saint resented the city for changing its name. To the usual natural disasters – floods – he added the "handmade" misfortunes: from the Red terror to the fascist blockade. The majority of the city's residents hope that the return of the city's former name – St. Petersburg – will restore the city to the good graces of those above. I relate to this part of the people of Leningrad – as a survivor of the blockade.

Lyudmila Solovkina

■ At work there are endless conversations about salary. About the salary we now have and about the salary we will have. You come home from work, sit down in front of the TV, and on the screen it's the same thing – talk, talk, talk... Only the cat in the armchair across from you is calm. "What is this compensation – 60 rubles? What can you buy for that?" "Comrades, the present state of crisis is not a catastrophe, but rather a stage on the road to the rebirth of our society. We are unfolding the broadest democratic processes..." My wife and the television "exchanged" this if not with me then with each other. "Our daughter still doesn't have a coat. Either there's nothing to buy or the prices are such that you go into a store and you can't tell right from left." "We remain faithful to our choice. But our left. I'll tell you straight – it's not the left, but those who were always called the right." The cat began to pull with its paws, as though it had just been plugged in. Finally everything was mixed up in my head, and I ceased to understand who was speaking – my wife, the television? "We thought: we'll live until we receive a pension, then we'll take a rest. We lived to that point. It's possible that we'll rest if we don't die." "And as for attacks

To the people of Northern Canada and the United States

■ We are connected by our origins. Our perception of the surrounding world brings us together. We have much in common in our beliefs, ceremonies, rituals, and customs. We share a common history of an eternal battle with the burden of a severe climate. It is equally well known to all of us how difficult it is to procure food and to keep living quarters warm in the conditions of the polar night. You and us both know how attractive our native land is, rich in minerals and natural resources, to those concerned about only the development of industry. You and we both are aware of the pernicious effects of "fire water" on the man of the North, whose organism is vulnerable like our own wonderful severe nature.

Today we have many of the same problems, the main one being that of preserving our own originality in the face of the attack of civilization on the area of the Far North.

Of course, our countries have their own specific features, even differences. But concern for the health of our children, for the preservation of our native languages, for the inheritance of the vital philosophies of our ancestors, it seems, is equally close to all peoples of the North.

Is it really not possible that we could benefit from closer cooperation between people who are connected by so much?

In Moscow this summer a new social organization was born – the centre of culture and trade of peoples of the North "Northern Lights." Its goal is to render help to representatives of the indigenous peoples of the European Far North, Siberia, and the Far East. The centre intends to concern itself with the rights of these people, to conduct economic and ecological research, to facilitate the development of cultural traditions, to strive for a higher level of medical care for people of the North, and for increasing possibilities for them to receive specialized and higher education.

The centre "Northern Lights" plans to erect in Moscow a World Home for all the peoples of the North. We see it as a place for business meetings, cultural festivals, congresses and theatre-concert halls, exhibitions of the handicrafts of artists, and restaurants with traditional dishes of northerners. In this World Home let Canadian Inuits meet Yakuts, Nenetsès meet Aleutians of Alaska, Native American Indians meet Orochis, Eskimos meet Evenks...

"Northern Lights" has the warm approval of Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, who has already set aside a plot of land for the future World Home. Helping to establish the centre are the Taimir Okrug executive committee of peoples' deputies, the amalgamation Yakutzoloto, the centre Moscovsky Financy, the state committee for economics of the Yakut-Sakha Republic, and the Bolshoi Theatre.

People of the North, living on the other side of the Arctic Ocean!

We invite you to cooperation, to the joint creation of the World Home of all the peoples of the North.

The centre of culture and trade of peoples of the North "Northern Lights"

7 Peters and 70 Lenins

In our family only the cat is calm

Die but with dignity

on the centre – you do know that it's an attempt to cast aspersions on..."

I couln't endure it – I turned off the TV. My wife resolutely came out of the kitchen and turned it on again – to a different channel. And there was the same thing – talk, talk...

Life has become grim in the epoch of developed *perestroika!*

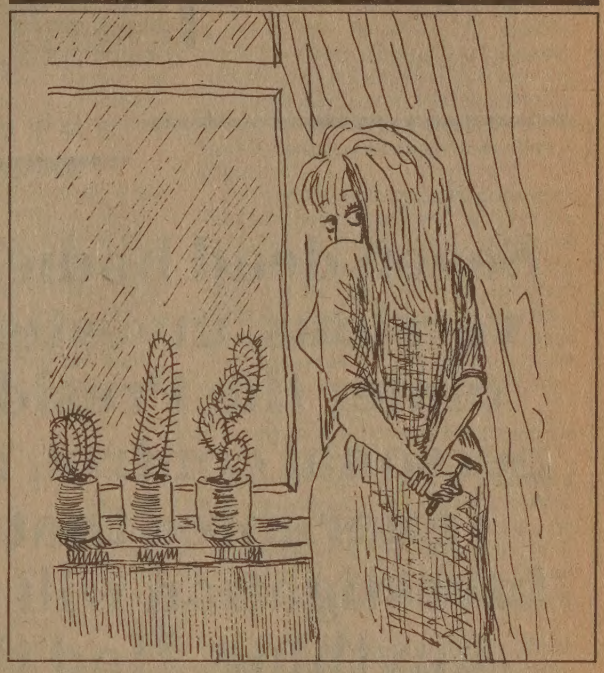
Valery Egorov
Leningrad, USSR

■ Annually our government spends up to 2 thousand rubles on each of the incurable invalids who have no chance of survival. Our medical resources are being used on keeping them alive. These are the people, leading a vegetable way of life, society will never benefit from them. Meanwhile, temporarily sick people who could potentially be valuable members of society receive almost nothing in comparison. Where is the logic here? Of course, if the hopelessly ill are needed by their relatives, let them pay for their "treatment," why should society do this?

Any modern state can be likened to a living organism. And a living organism always tries to destroy hopelessly ill cells. Is it really possible that a miracle will occur and the sick will be cured? According to today's diagnosis, such miracles are practically reduced to nought. And for the possibility of one such "miracle" they spend millions on thousands of other "non-miracles" – it is too expensive!

The doctor does not have to be the main judge. It is possible to put together a commission of medical, Soviet, and public bodies to determine the legal limitations of sustaining life. If one reasons from the moral point of view – let the opponents of euthanasia go to the hospital and see how these people live: it can hadly be said that their existence is similar to life.

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

I personally, having found myself in a hopeless situation, would like to die with dignity. I wish this to everyone.

V.Lapin
Belebey

■ The first thing I read in each issue of *New Times* is the material by T.Ivanova. We are kindred spirits, and after reading her material my soul is more at ease. My city, Tula, is very conservative. Every person fusses over his/her position at an enterprise of the military industrial complex, which will probably finish us off, it will eat everything. And our deputies say nothing. No country could endure such a load of the MIC. In Tula every fourth person wears the military hat plus the administrative-officer's corps.

Does the new Russian president have enough strength to save us? You see, we pin our hope not only on him...

Vasily Gonnov,
war veteran
Tula, USSR

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

Origin? Aryan!

■ Now in the intelligentsia milieu (especially among the leaders of the Russian writers) it is accepted to in the first place clarify a person's ethnic origin. We would like to relate a highly instructive story connected with the name of the British writer John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, with whose works the Soviet reader has finally had the possibility to become acquainted.

In 1938 a Potsdam publisher decided to translate Tolkien's *The Hobbit* into German. But this publication could be realized in fascist Germany only if the author were Aryan. Obviously, the surname of the writer seemed suspicious to the German enlighteners. They appealed to Tolkien's English publishers requesting a certification of the writers Aryan origin. The publishers forwarded the request to Tolkien. The writer responded: "I am inclined to refuse to give them any confirmation. The devil take the German translation... I do not view (probable) the complete absence of Jewish blood as something honorable; I have many Jewish friends, and I cannot project the impression that I subscribe to an absolutely dangerous, racist doctrine. But I cannot without your permission put at risk the possibility of German publication. For this reason I offer you a variant for a possible answer."

"Dear Sirs,

"Thank you for your letter... I regret that I am not clear as to what you intend by *arisch*. I am not of Aryan extraction: that is Indo-Iranian; as far as I am aware none of my ancestors spoke Hindustani, Persian, Gypsy, or any related dialects. But if I am to understand that you are enquiring whether I am of Jewish origin, I can only reply that I regret that I appear to have no ancestors of that gifted people. My great-great-grandfather came to England in the eighteenth century from Germany: the main part of my descent is therefore purely English, and I am an English subject – which should be sufficient. I have been accustomed, nonetheless, to regard my German name with pride, and continued to do so throughout the period of the later regrettable war, in which I served in the English army. I cannot, however, forbear to comment that if impertinent and irrelevant inquiries of this sort are to become the rule in matters of literature, then the time is not far distant when a German name will no longer be a source of pride.

"Your enquiry is doubtless made in order to comply with the laws of your own country, but that this should be held to apply to the subjects of another state would be improper, even if it had (as it has not) any bearing whatsoever on the merits of my work or its suitability for publication, of which you appear to have satisfied yourselves without reference to my Abstammung.

"I trust you will find this reply satisfactory, and remain yours faithfully

J.R.R.Tolkien"
Publication of M.Gorelik and A.Gorelik

EMERGENCY

Seven dead bodies, four versions, investigation under the President's personal control, and no guarantee that the investigation will reveal anything. Had those guilty of arson and beatings at Lithuanian customs posts been found and punished

The Medininkai killing might never have become a chilling reality

How could this have happened? Egidijus Bickauskas, permanent representative of the Lithuanian Republic in Moscow, answers questions from **Alexander GHUDODEYEV** of *New Times*

Do you think it was a professional murder?

There is no doubt that professional killers were at work. In all probability, the fatal shots were fired from a Kalashnikov.Cartridges were found on the spot...

It could have been Mafia hitmen...

I do not think so. The killing was too professional. I do not think the Mafia is so efficient. It was a political murder. Mr. Bush and Mr. Gorbachev met in Moscow on the eve of the attack, the treaty between Russia and Lithuania was signed at approximately the same time. The World Lithuanian Games started in Lithuania and Lithuanians from all over the world came to their historical homeland. The goal of the killing was to aggravate fears in the republic. This provocation had been intended to touch off a retaliation by the Lithuanian authorities.

However, such forceful pressure has not produced any results so far. Might there have been different motives?

The investigtion will report its findings. I have no doubt that we will be able to sort things out. The investigation will reveal the perpetrators, the backers, and the organizers. It will be a normal investigation, not the kind of investigation Procurator-General Trubin started after the January bloodbath.

Even if there had been no direct instruction from the centre, the centre's silent consent to the outrage committed by the OMON on our borders in the past few months encouraged the criminals. Without getting an adequate rebuff, the criminals became even more brazen. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that it was the leadership of the USSR that ordered the abolition of Lithuanian customs posts. (This instruction, however, did not apply to the customs service of Byelorussia.)

This time Moscow displayed a reasonable reaction. After the January events and initial pogroms at Lithuanian customs posts the only response that we got was the answer that comrade minister of the interior was having a rest or that comrade minister of the interior did not know any-

thing. This time the minister expressed his condolences. This change of tactics must, on the one hand, distract public attention and show that the centre is taking part in the investigation effort, and, on the other hand, help the centre distance itself from the killing.

How did the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania react?

Burokevicius expressed his condolences and put all the blame on the Lithuanian leadership. I would not like to comment on the behaviour of Mr. Burokevicius and his colleagues. As for the Minister of the Interior of the USSR, one may wonder what kind of minister he is. He must do something more concrete than express his condolences, which is of course better than replies we got before. In particular, the minister should have reacted to our repeated requests that the OMON troops be withdrawn from Lithuania. The troops which are under Minister Pugo's command continue to be deployed around the Press House and the TV and Radio Centre. It is stupid, to say the least, to think that forceful pressure can alter the people's sentiments.

What was Russia's reaction?

Mr. Yeltsin made a very important statement about the events. He supported our demand for the withdrawal of OMON. Even if OMON were not involved in the killing, it continues to be a source of tension. Those who accuse Mr. Yeltsin of abandoning the Russian-speaking community in the Baltics do not know what they are saying. Yeltsin and his policy is the most reliable form of protecting Russians in Lithuania. It is thanks to the President of Russia that the bloodbath in Lithuania is not popularly associated with Russians. The situation would have been different had the leadership of Russia not displayed solidarity with us. We are very pleased with this solidarity.

May the Medininkai tragedy lead to the Lithuanian parliament's sanction to use arms?

Life is man's most treasured possession. The killers must be punished. It is a great lesson for us, for the Lithuanian customs service, and for the Lithuanian police force. When you live next door to an aggressive neighbour, you must be ready for the worst. I do not mean Russia, I mean the Soviet Union. I am rather pessimistic. If resolute measures are not taken, similar incidents may occur.

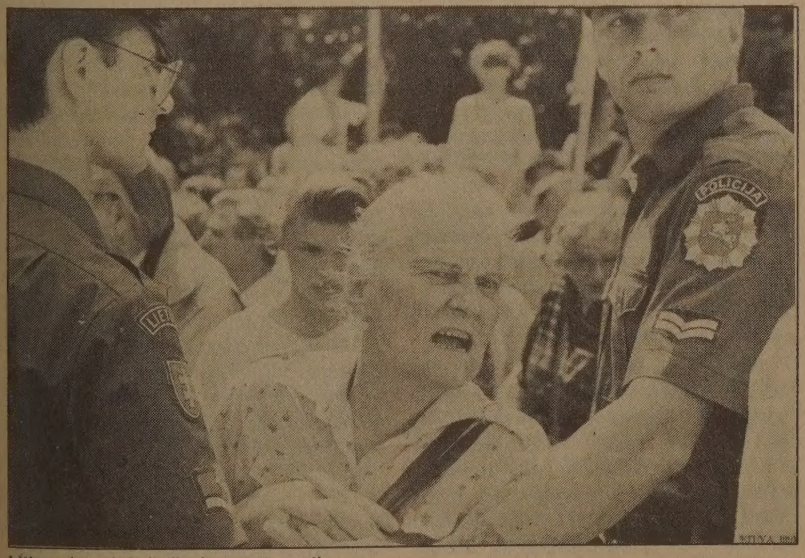
Life is cheap nowadays

Alexander Didusenko

The killers vanished into thin air and are still at large. Several versions have already been offered. It has been suggested that the killing of the Lithuanian customs men was an act of vengeance for the mysterious death of a Byelorussian policeman who was earlier killed on the adjacent section of the border; that the killers were backed by the OMON force deployed in the Baltics which does not obey the orders of the local authorities and only formally recognizes the central power; that the customs men were killed by Mafia hitmen in retaliation for a frustrated operation; and finally that the crime was committed by some mysterious "security service" protecting Russians in the Baltics, a representative of which called one newspaper and claimed responsibility for the slaughter.

The investigation will show how much truth there is in these versions (if the investigation shows anything at all and does not end with another statement from the Procurator-General to the effect that the victims are themselves to blame). Today, however, I would like to speak about other things.

We seem to be getting used to the killings. People are being killed on purpose and the murderers go scot-free. In some cases people kill other people proceeding from the very best intentions, defending the "sacred beliefs" in "the great power", "the socialist choice" and "the internationalist duty." The bloody marks of such killings, which cannot be washed away, are to be found in Tbilisi, Baku, the Yerevan airport of Zvartnots, Vilnius, Riga, and the blazing inferno of Nagorno-Karabakh. Medininkai has become the latest example of the most repulsive (if there are less repulsive) murders. The killers put the victims on their knees and shot them through the back of the head: the method used during the Great Terror and in Katyn.



Lithuania: grief, disillusionment, wrath...

Government officials are trying to make us believe that the outrage was committed without their knowledge, contrary to their intentions and in violation of their instructions. Their stance reminds one of the attitude of the band when a fight breaks out in a tavern: we are only musicians, we take no sides. It goes without saying that this attitude is unbecoming to a state figure. It's statesmen's duty to be responsible for anything going on in the country. We know where the policy of non-interference pursued by the KGB, the Interior Ministry, and the Defence Ministry vis-à-vis their subordinates' unlawful actions and the policy of forgiveness adhered to by the federal procuracy have led us. The people responsible for the Tbilisi massacre, the Vilnius bloodbath and the storming of the Interior Ministry headquarters in Riga have never been found and punished. One can't help suspecting that, like the Leningrad TV cowboy Nevzorov, Soviet leaders divide this country's population into the good "our own" and the bad "aliens." "Our own" are al-

lowed anything and "aliens" must behave the way "our own" want them to. When the state power is powerless or unwilling to enforce laws, an atmosphere of lawlessness and irresponsibility sets in and it becomes possible to shoot a customs officer, to gun down a newspaper editor, or to blow up a passenger train, even more so as "aliens" who do not expect the state to protect their interests are taking up arms themselves. What will this lead us to?

It is obvious that there can be only one result: a rampage of crime and violence in the country that is never short of potential killers and rapists. The school of Soviet life, including the school of army service and service in paramilitary structures, has trained more than enough of such cadres. The Afghan experience of punitive operations taught some people not to value human life. The lack of rights, bullying, arbitrariness of bosses make life impossible. A boy standing sentry shoots his fellow guardsmen in cold blood. Other uniformed boys as cold-bloodedly open fire against unarmed crowds, drive tanks crushing people alive, and batter demonstrators with rifle butts and pioneer spades.

I write the word "boys" because boys is what Soviet soldiers are. The Soviet attitude to age is inexplicable. People under 21 are not allowed to buy hard liquor, because it is bad for the young organism. At 18, however, the state can give a boy a machine-gun and send him to kill or to die "performing internationalist duty" in a foreign country or "putting down unrest at home." This must be very good for the young organism. The strong-willed leave this school as convinced humanists. The weaker become slaves and rapists... A day after the Medininkai tragedy, retired paratroopers were celebrating their professional holiday in Moscow by fighting, shattering shop windows, and hurting dozens of passers-by. Fortunately, they had no arms.

All the talk about a state committed to the rule of law will remain idle, as long as statesmen continue to shirk responsibility for the actions of their subordinates regardless of whether they are informed about these actions or not; as long as procurators do not start protecting human rights, including the principal right to life, instead of protecting the right of "our own" to crack down of "aliens"; as long as 18-year-old boys are given arms and taught to see the enemy in anyone speaking a different language, looking a different way or having thoughts which differ from those of the platoon leader... Similar tragedies will keep occurring...

Meanwhile, the president assumed personal control over the investigation. This is a bold and unusual step. What is there behind it? Has the president finally realized that the events around the Baltics, starting from the January putsch in Vilnius, are senseless, useless, and futile? As Talleyrand said, this is worse than a crime, this is an error...

Will the Communist Party survive?

The Yeltsin departification decree could have evoked a greater response in the country – after all it jeopardizes the very existence of the former "leading and guiding force" of Soviet society. However, society remains strangely indifferent to the CPSU's destiny

Marina Shakina

It has not yet been seven years since the beginning of *perestroika* and the CPSU is already facing a choice. It is a critical choice – not a choice of ideology, but the prosaic choice of the way to survive.

Until very recently the Communist Party has been the master of its own fate and the fate of the country and that is why it has changed as it wanted to. One cannot say that the Communist Party was free from the pressures of life, but as a rule, life was under the Communist pressure. This pressure seemed unshakable and eternal. In the early years of perestroika the impression was that the party was living through a renaissance. The processes inside the party seemed slow. The activity of the naive Democratic Platform in the CPSU ended at the 28th Congress when several hundred DP followers turned in their party cards. But there were many expectations at that time. On the eve of the congress, people calculated the number of factions into which the CPSU would split. However, the DP was only a tiny part that broke away from the gigantic monolith. Some national Communist parties sailed away, too, various tendencies and factions appeared inside the CPSU, but the might of the CPSU did not seem to weaken.

Finally a powerful blow was dealt the CPSU from without. Logically, Yeltsin's dramatic decree was expected to cause a shock in this country, but when it was issued society paid little attention to it. There was no indication of a shock.

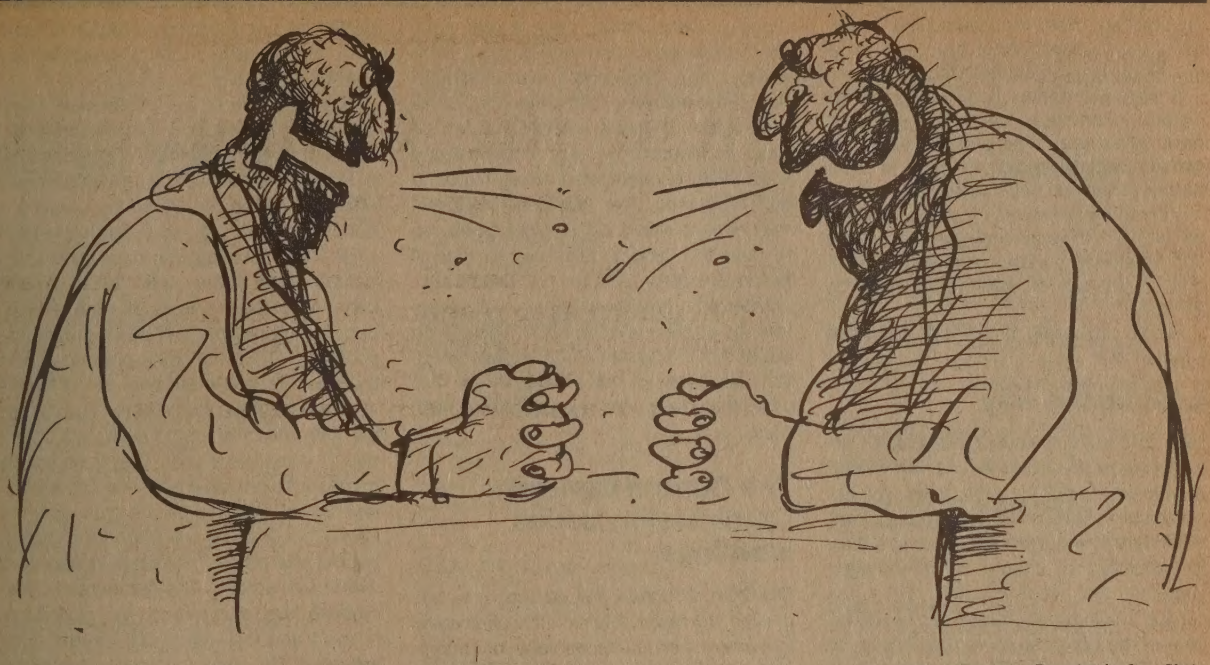
"Millions of Communists," "the only force that can lead the country out of the crisis," the crisis into which the CPSU itself had driven the country – where is all this? The departification decree was expected to struggle its way through thick resistance, but it has revealed the real situation: all that is left of the CPSU is its carcass consisting of party committees at various levels. There is no living tissue. Everything has decayed.

Rules for fair play for the Communist Party of Russia and the rest

Departification has been already discussed for a long time: Eastern Europe furnished an inspiring example for Soviet democrats. Yeltsin should have been expected to make this step, but the decree came as a bolt from the blue, once again confirming the Russian President's reputation as a resolute man. Opinion polls indicate that 73 percent of people living in Russia favoured the departification decree, while at the presidential elections Yeltsin won only 58 percent.

Society as a whole displayed a calm reaction to the decree – there was no special enthusiasm and no special indignation. Only the leaders of the Communist Party of Russia and the newspapers associated with the CPR tried to depict "a storm of public indignation." Obviously this was a manifestation of the Communists' habit of associating themselves with the nation. Meanwhile, the people are sick and tired of the Communist guidance, as the opinion polls have indicated.

Representatives of the Communists for Democracy and the Democratic Reform Movement favoured the decree, which is quite natural. A political force favouring a multiparty system, equality of all parties, and the parliamentary character of the CPSU has no choice but to renounce its privileged position and play by the rules. The recently adopted USSR Law on Public Associations does not prohibit the setting up of party committees at enterprises, but the authors of the law must have been guided not by common sense, but by the desire to preserve the status quo when the CPSU is represented by its committees at every factory, plant, or organization. The law-



Drawing by Igor Shein

makers were not discouraged by the fact that other parties might also be tempted to set up their committees at factories. And rightly so – the lawmakers are well aware of the fact that the CPSU and other parties have different starting conditions. It is obvious that no party but the CPSU can afford to set up a committee, appoint a full-time functionary, get some space for the committee and hold regular party meetings during the hours. If the starting conditions were equal for all parties, we would become the spectators of an exciting show: enterprises and organizations would start becoming headquarters for various political forces. As for actual production, it would soon become a nuisance.

In fact, if parties are not allowed to interfere in economic activities, what would their representatives want at factories and plants?

A party meeting in the smoking room?

Although the decree contains no mention of the CPSU, there is only one target of attack – the CPSU. Members of the Yeltsin team have to go out of their way to explain to the nation that the decree is not aimed against trade unions, women's councils, veterans' associations, and even the Komsomol. Lawyers are not so unanimous. Lawyers employed by the federal bureaucracy criticize the decree, Russian lawyers applaud it. The Constitutional Court of Russia has not yet been formed, there is no Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia who is supposed to present members of the Court to the lawmakers. The decree is currently under consideration by the Constitution Committee of the USSR. The decree is mostly criticized for its allegedly unconstitutional character, it has already been labelled unconstitutional prior to the offical verdict of the Constitution custodians.

Any Soviet law or decree is first criticized for being unconstitutional, and, second, for not corresponding to international legal norms. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is appealed to by people who wouldn't even hear of it only several years ago. We are living in a dramatic time of legal chaos and unlimited legal opportunities. The agenda of any Congress of People's Deputies contains a discussion of constitutional changes. Laws are adopted in packages and the Constitution is being changed simultaneously. At the same time ministries and departments keep issuing instructions and orders which correspond neither to the laws nor to the Constitution. Some ministries and state institutions continue to live by instructions adopted in the early years of Soviet power. The commander of the Vilnius garrison who deployed tanks near the Vilnius TV Centre at the request of the National Salvation Committee of Lithuania violated the Constitution but observed the Guards' Manual. Although the Constitution is the fundamental law of this country, the general seems to have more respect for Army Manuals. Many years will have to pass until the Constitution, the laws, decrees, various service instructions, manuals, and codes of conduct merge into a single legal whole. As of now, experts from countries with centuries-old constitutions would be unable to sort things out in the Soviet legal chaos.

For example, a decree prohibiting Communist Party secretaries from occupying other posts would hardly be needed in any civilized country. A strong law-governed society has no reason to fear a party functionary occupying a state position, but in this country the CPSU is more than simply a political party, it is the state itself and it keeps generating totalitarian metastases. The Communist Party, due to its weight and extensive and rigid system of committees continues to distort the picture of legitimate state structures. That is why the Supreme Soviet of Russia had to pass a decree prohibiting the combination of party and state positions.

One feels like expresing heart-felt sympathy to Sergei Alexeyev, the experienced lawyer of the Constitution Committee, and other Committee members. Even these excellent professionals sometimes have to spend months working without producing any definite answer.

Here are two opinions about the decree: Sergei Stankevich, who has been recently appointed the State Counsellor of Russia for relations with public organizations: "I have no doubt that the decree is a step in the right direction. The decree does not violate any international accords – it is evident to anyone who has read these accords at least once. The decree's compliance with the Constitution is more of a problem, but I do not think the claims that the decree violates the Constitution

are justified. However, I would like the decisions of Russia's chief executive to be clearer and more definite in the future."

Says Ivan Antonovich, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia: "The departification decree is hard to implement. Life is more complicated than any decree can foresee. If party committees are removed, workers will gather in the smoking rooms to discuss and engage in politics. As a result, a prodigious amount of working time will be wasted..."

Aren't you being too smart, Comrade Antonovich?

Lost on the way

How will the decree affect the CPSU? During the years of *perestroika* over four million people turned in their party cards. The experience of Eastern Europe where Communist parties found themselves in a similar situation a couple of years ago, suggests that approximately the same number of Communists who remain members of the party refuse to pay their party dues. These non-payers will be lost as the party committees will be reshaped on a territorial basis. In general, any intermediary registration of members is dangerous for the party because many people will not take the trouble to apply to be registered. That must be why the Communist Party of Russia was wise enough to register all Communists living in Russia as its members without asking for new membership applications.

The decree will cause a rapid shrinking of the stratum of party functionaries and *apparatchiks:* the incomes, prestige, prospects, and power are considerably more modest when a party committee is based in a residential neighbourhood and not at a large factory or plant. Besides, it will become clear that many functionaries are excessive for the party. Everybody knows that contrary to the allegations of the CPR, party committees never protected the interests of the working class. Instead, they supervised the personnel policies and sometimes directly managed the production. Their *raison d'être* was to implement the decisions of higher party bodies and to keep a watchful eye over the workers.

The decree will ruin the decades-old infrastructure of the party, weaken the levers of party discipline, and greatly reduce the *apparatchiks'* opportunities to **control** rank-and-file party members, those who will reregister on the residential basis. After all party activism will not affect careers as it used to and will become kind of a hobby.

Whichever decision the Constitution Committee might make the decree seems irreversible. After all, departification may as well be considered the initiative of the mssses: it has already been a year since the Kuzbass miners removed party committees from the mines. The implementation of the decree will be difficult in the remote areas of Russia where CPSU structures continue to be very influential and local CPSU committees are likely to put up stiff resistance. The president of Russia may have to resort to the same measures he used to promote the implementation of his private farming decree – to send his authorized representatives who will supervise the implementation effort. There is no doubt that the decree will be implemented. We are used to party committees, but when they disappear, few people will miss them.

The Central Control Commission issues warnings

The 29th Congress will be the last congress in the history of the CPSU. This opinion was voiced at the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia which has evolved from the parliamentary faction Communists for Democracy headed in the Russian parliament by the vice-president of Russia Col.Alexander Rutskoy.

A new party inside the CPSU? First a number of republican Communist parties broke away, then the Democratic Platform followed suit, the Democratic Reform Movement appeared, and now the democratically-minded CPSU members have decided to worsen the headache of the Central Control Commission under the CPSU Central Committee. By the way, Ivan Antonovich, who attended the constituent conference as a guest, conveyed the CCC's warning: according to the CPSU Rules a communist may not be a member of two parties at once.

There is much confusion on the opposite flank as well: the fundamentalists from The InitiativeCommunist, Nina Andreyeva's Yedinstvo movement and the Bolshevist Platform are stepping up their activities. Voices can be heard from both flanks insisting that a good split is better than bad cohabitation. Actually, the CPSU has already split, although this has not yet been officially announced.

Reform-minded Communists are growing smarter every day. They are not going to bang the door behind them like the Democratic Platform did. They decided to remain in the CPSU until the 29th Congress. Today they style themselves as a movement inside the party. One of the major motives of this cautious attitude is the party's immense property, which as one speaker at the conference said, "the CPSU may be tempted to forget to share with the people, if the pro-democracy Communists go..."

The objective of the conference which prepared the formation of a party under the name of Democratic Party of Communists of Russia (inside the CPSU) is a determined effort to rescue the CPSU by creating a counterbalance to the fundamentalist CPR. If in other republics local Communist parties split from the CPSU under nationalist slogans, in Russia the republican Communist party appeared as an association of Gorbachev's opponents. As the East European experience suggests, attempts to make all of the party compatible with the democratic demands of the day all ended in a split. Clever tacticians managed to preserve a portion of the political capital. Will this be the case with the CPSU? Everything will depend on which people will opt to associate themselves with the new party. The democratic Communists are canvassing for grassroots support and the indications are that they will get it. The new movement attracts the brightest segments of the CPSU, and the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia may become the largest chunk of the ruined CPSU and be able to preserve the greatest share of the CPSU's political influence, thus managing to remain on the political scene.

The leaders of democratic Communists stress their party's difference from the ideology of the CPR: they acknowledge the necessity to repent for the seventy three years of genocide, lawlessness, violence, and onmipotence of the CPSU, agree to return the party property to the people, and will reject the utopian communist objective, class struggle and confrontation. For the Central Committee of the CPR *perestroika* means counterrevolution and betrayal of socialism; for democratic Communists it is the demolition of the antihumane, totalitarian, socially antagonistic, and economically impotent society.

The formation of the new movement is an attempt to rescue the CPSU and save the honour of Communists of Russia by giving them a chance to distance themselves from the CPR. The question is, however, whether the CPSU wants to be rescued. Will these measures help it regain public trust? There is not much time – the first multiparty elections in the history of this country may happen very soon. It was said at the conference that the word "Communists" in the new party's name was scaring people away...

Today the CPSU reminds one of a conglomerate of various and often antagonistic movements whose only common element is the Central Control Commission which never tires of sending warnings to all corners of the country...

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Parliamentary passions in Moscow

Why did I vote against Khasbulatov and Baburin?

Sergei Kovalyov,
Chairman of the Human Rights Committee of the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

I do not like the fact that both the democratic and the communist deputies put the interests of their factions and local political victories above common sense and the basic principles of democracy...

The parliament of Russia is still too young and its understanding of what is known as the basic principles of democracy is too vague. In this respect, our voters are more sincere and passionate than our lawmakers, but, unfortunately, they are even more politically illiterate. A simple example will suffice: many voters were enthusiastic about the newly adopted law on the recalling of deputies, and the deputies themselves seemed to be united in favour of the law. However, this law is fundamentally undemocratic! What is the voters' right to recall a deputy when they wish after they have collected the necessary number of signatures supposed to mean? Only one thing – deputies will work under constant pressure.

The intrinsic and unavoidable disadvantage of democracy is that democracy is based on the opinion of the majority. However, some things, like scientific problems, cannot be solved by a simple act of voting. When we refer to the greater number of voters, we immediately lose the adequate level of competence. Any truly democratic decision has this disadvantage. To avoid or minimize this disadvantage the civilization invented what is known as representative democracy.

In this country, though, we tend towards ochlocracy when crowds gather in the square whenever it is necessary to solve a problem by majority vote. The difference between ochlocracy and democracy is that under democracy problems are solved not by voters, but by their trusted and competent representatives.

The law on the recalling of deputies is undemocratic, although it was initiated by the democratic faction and sounds emphatically democratic.

Gen.Roberts' rules

What prevails in the democratic deputies' thoughts and motives? Unfortunately, the prevailing consideration is the struggle of political courses. The parliament of Russia regrettably lacks an influential non-political force that would be concerned not with political rivalry or its own likes and dislikes, but with the law, parliamentary procedure, and fair parliamentary struggle. The democratic faction in parliament was so enthusiastic about the recalling law because in many areas the elections had been heavily influenced by the local structures of the CPSU. Concerned with the success of their political course, rather than with democratic procedure, the democratic faction decided to beef up the people's awakening democratic awareness with the recalling mechanism. Their aim was to defeat the enemy, not to observe democracy.

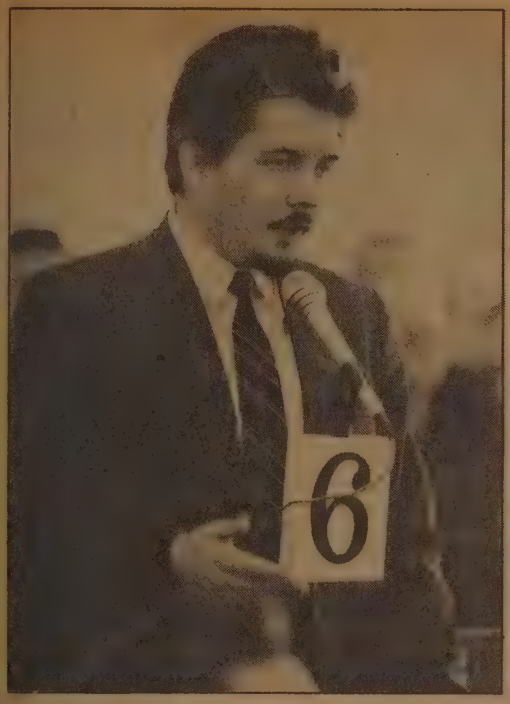
Modern democracy is hanging by a fine thread of democratic procedure. Once this thread is severed, democracy will drown in the boiling pot of political ambitions and rivalry. Democracy is not only the expression of the will of the majority, but also guarantees to the minority, including the parliamentary minority, that its opinion will be heeded. If the minority opinion is backed with more convincing arguments, it can attract more advocates than the majority opinion.

A hundred years ago a retired American general, Roberts, wrote a book that later became the bible of any Western politician. It was the book on the rules of the parliamentarry procedure. It is very often that during passionate parliamentary debates in the West some MP drops a phrase that few people understand here: "Roberts' rules of order!" The debates calm down immediately. Any member of parliament knows these rules by heart and understands that it is necessary to stop, to think, to remember which rule has been violated and to return to the procedure. Since the procedure commission has been set up, the references to the procedure rules have become more frequent, but they rarely meet with understanding. The usual reaction is to wave such references aside. As a result, the parliament is adopting monstrously undemocratic laws.

Another example is the law on the Russian Republic's police force. This law is worse than the old law. Why then did the democrats applaud it? One paragraph of the new law stipulates departification of the police force – a timely and correct measure. But that same law contains other paragraphs as well, such as the one sanctioning unwarranted searches. When Gorbachev issued his anti-sabotage decree allowing searches without a warrant the democrats opposed it and rightly pointed to the unconstitutional character of the decree. When the Russian parliament introduced unwarranted searches even in a tougher form, the democrats cheered.

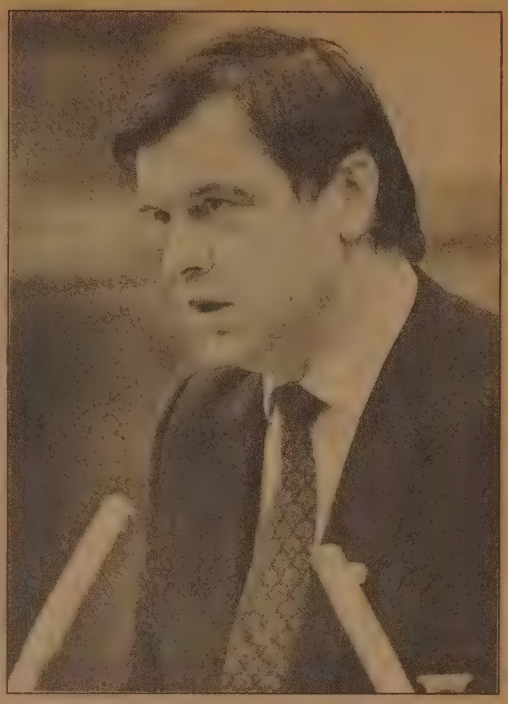
The law on the republican police force also allows police officers to open fire if a suspect attempts an escape. In substance, this means that anyone can be shot in broad daylight. The only thing that is needed is the police officer's suspicion that you have committed a crime and "attempted escape" may mean anything, especially when there are no other witnesses but the police...

During the first reading only 14 deputies voted against the law. This is a logical result of the strug-



"If Baburin were elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet, his election would be a major setback for democrats that would not correspond to the existing situation in Russia"

"Khasbulatov is believed to be a supporter of Yeltsin's course. An independent parliament, however, must be headed not by an advocate of some course, but by a champion of law"



gle of political interests, the struggle of advocates and opponents of departification.

Who will represent the Komsomol?

The introduction of the presidency in this country laid the foundation for a strong executive branch. Now we must seek adequate strengthening of the legislative and juridical branches. In fact, a far-sighted executive branch is interested in such strengthening itself. This is not the case when the branches must be headed by like-minded people. The last Congress of People's Deputies of Russia was unable to elect the Constitutional Court – the supreme juridical body of the republic. Various factions and political forces nominated candidates for the Constitutional Court. Although it was evident that the Court was to be composed of politically aloof professionals, the nomination went on according to the political principle. The unavoidable Soviet question arose immediately: how will autonomous entities and sovereign republics – members of the Russian Federation, be represented in the Court? Does the law have anything to do with administrative division? Another episode: one of the candidates, a strong-willed professional, was asked what he was going to do as a member of the Constitutional Court. He answered without any hesitation: "I will protect the interests of peasants." Quite an answer for a person aspiring to become one of the fifteen irreplaceable justices whose only interest is to protect the Constitution and the law, being above politics.

What is happening now is just one step away from the old Soviet habit of counting the percentage of women, young people, trade union members and members of the Komsomol in the Constitutional Court.

The Congress imposed a strange age restriction. While where were no age restrictions at the elections of people's deputies, the President's age limit is 65, the age limit of a Constitutional Justice was set at 60. Thus many excellent experts were left out of the nomination lists. Meanwhile, the Constitutional Court is an authority whose members must have great experience and the ability to do long and through legal work. We think it is possible to make a person of 65 an active politician or even president, but we deny a person who is five years younger the right to engage in legal work.

I believe this is another demonstration of our parliament's political orientation. Many deputies feared that people of the old political generations might become members of the Constitutional Court. However, there are many highly respectable people in the older generation of lawyers and their presence in the Constituional Court would have been very useful.

Democrats vis-à-vis communists

If the executive branch must be a team of like-minded people, the parliament must represent the entire range of opinions existing in the country. That is why a parliament is more inclided to make compromise decisions which all forces represented in it can accept. The lever of parliamentary influence is the approval or refusal to approve programmes suggested by the executive branch. In developed democracies this lever is also the adoption of the national budget. The parliament approves the allocation of a concrete sum on a concrete programme – more or less than the government initially asked for. Here is the way to bring pressure to bear on the government. The other lever of influence is the law which the executive branch must observe and the parliament must monitor this observance.

At the elections of the head of the legislative branch, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, we witnessed a stubborn confrontation of the two major factions – despite their assurances that they understood the necessity of a compromise they proved unable to understand how compromises are achieved.

A compromise could have been achieved in one of two possible ways: either to introduce changes in the procedure and the Constitution and to elect not the Chairman alone, but the whole team; or to find a commonly acceptable candidate.

To different extents, Sergei Shakhrai and Vladimir Lukin could have been acceptable to both democrats and communists. The opinion that Shakhrai cannot

win enough votes is unjustified. When he ran for the office of one of the Deputy Chairmen of the Supreme Soviet he was almost elected. Only the die-hard communists opposed Shakhrai. Many deputies are attracted to him because of his brisk and business-like attitudes, hard work and the ability to find compromise solutions. Shakhrai was not supported by the democrats and won only 124 votes because the democratic faction stubbornly supported Khasbulatov and refused to retreat even a step. As for the communist faction, it supported Baburin.

Vladimir Lukin collected fewer votes but this does not mean that he could not have been a deserving compromise figure. Shakhrai and Lukin are two professionals whom the parliament needs badly. Lukin possesses a wealth of experience and he is a dedicated advocate of compromise. He is one of the few Western-type politicians in the Russian parliament: while he does not serve as the conductor of Western influences, he understands Western parliamentary methods very well. If Shakhrai is a highly competent lawyer, Lukin is an expert in politics. A man of principles, Lukin knows the limit beyond which is a dignified compromise becomes a vulgar deal. Other figures could also have been found.

There was an attempt at reaching a compromise: it was suggested that the congress elect the whole team, not just one Chairman. By electing the chairman together with his deputies the Congress intended to reflect the balance of forces in the parliament. What came out of this? If Baburin and Khasbulatov have failed, let's elect them both. Ironically, many democrats started promoting this variant. What would the leadership of the Supreme Soviet look like, had the Congress consented to this proposal? Khasbulatov and Baburin – Chairman and First Deputy Chairman, Isayev and Goryacheva – Deputy Chairpersons; Abdulatipov and Isakov – Chairmen of the Chambers; Veshnyakov and Syrovatko, their deputies. Let us suppose that Ruslan Khasbulatov is the model democrat. What about his aides? They are all representatives of the communist bloc. Would this composition of the Supreme Soviet leadership reflect the real distribution of forces? Of course not. Nonetheless, the democrats tried to support this variant...

Custodian of the procedure

Two more events took place as well which were very characteristic of the congress and the political culture of this country. In his speech Premier Ivan Silayev applied for resignation. Later Yeltsin was wise enough to re-nominate Silayev for Premier: he is the right man in the right place. In his speech, though, Silayev urged the deputies to vote for Khasbulatov. This is absolutely impermissible from the view point of parliamentary culture. Several days later, President Yeltsin surrendered to insistent demands of the deputies and appeared at the rostrum calling for the election of Khasbulatov. And if Khasbulatov could not be elected alone, Yeltsin called on the deputies to elect him in tandem with Baburin. Nothing of the kind will be possible in any civilized parliament. The Chairman should have immediately interrupted the executive branch when they started giving recommendations to parliament. A sad episode in our infantile democracy...

I would be highly upset if Sergei Baburin were elected Chairman. He is a good lawyer and a smart person. Most deputies are dissatisfied with Baburin's political affiliations. On the other hand, the Communist faction supports him.

I dislike the Baburin candidacy because of his dependence rather than political views. When Baburin is short of sound legal arguments, he is ready to uphold his viewpoint by supplying arguments of another kind. He sees the political objective and he refuses to be discouraged by logical contradictions when they are unavoidable. He starts looking for loopholes instead.

If Baburin were elected Chairman, his election would be a major setback for the democrats that would not correspond to the existing balance of political forces. Baburin would be a centrist politician, whatever ideas might be advocated by the centre. In other words, Baburin is very dependent on forces outside the parliament, which is dangerous and unacceptable.

In any case the parliament needs an independent chairman.

Many democratic deputies are not fully satisfied with the candidacy of Ruslan Khasbulatov, either. This is a sign of the democrats' lack of political maturity rather than of the split in the democratic faction. Khasbulatov is an energetic, smart, and flexible politician, but for him the political course means more than the procedure rules and the principles of parliamentary democracy. He is believed to be a supporter of Yeltsin's course. So am I. But another thing is more important for me: Khasbulatov's departure from the parliamentary principles and principles of representative democracy. An independent parliament must be headed not by an advocate of some political course, but by a champion of law, the idea of division of power, an effective counterbalance if need be. The chairman of the parliament must monitor observance of parliamentary procedure, promote parliamentary culture, and allow each viewpoint to be voiced.

Many voters are threatening to recall the deputies who voted against Khasbulatov. Let them recall me. I voted against Khasbulatov and Baburin. Neither of them satisfies me in the capacity of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

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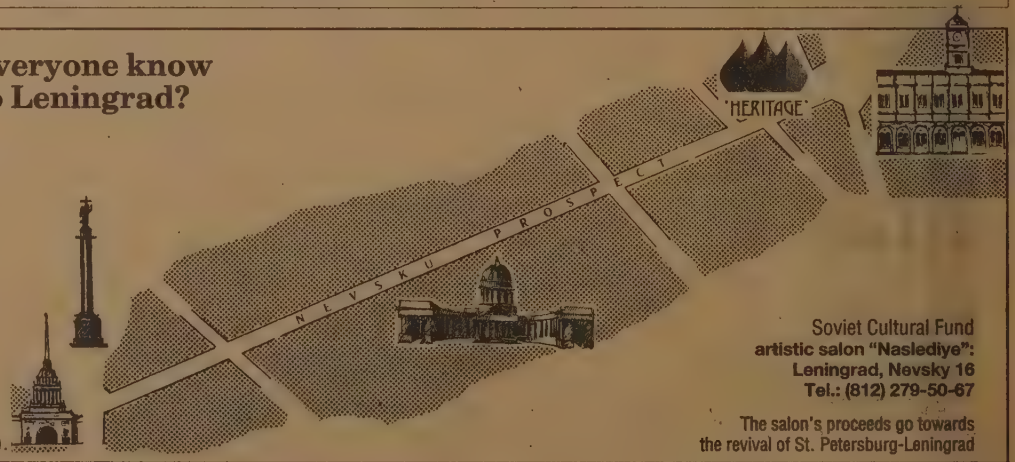

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Defence space: where does it end?

Vadim Makarenko, Dmitry Trenin

Soviet troops are pulling out of Eastern Europe and Mongolia. They may have to leave some republics before long. What will the new Soviet security system look like?

The Nine Plus One Agreement has once again revealed the tremendous gap between the development of political processes in the USSR and the comprehension of problems on which the said processes are founded. This applies, in particular, to the problems of national defence. The draft Union Treaty stipulates that defence matters will remain in the jurisdiction of the Union, while some such problems will be under the joint jurisdiction of the federal and republican leaderships.

However, the very notion of the military security system of a union of sovereign states has not yet been formed and all official plans for a military reform, and long-term military development programmes in particular, continue to be designed for the unitary model of the state. Meanwhile, the problem of practical construction of the federal defense system will appear in the space of some months. At the same time it will be necessary to define the attitude towards the republics which have so far refused to join the new union. As it follows from the Novo-Ogaryovo accords, these republics will be left out of the orbit of economically favourable relations. Politically, they may become semi-foreign states. What about the military aspect? This question has not been raised publicly so far.

It may already be under discussion at certain levels. The problem, however, is the secret character of such a discussion. The veil of secrecy makes it impossible to prepare the public, the political quarters in the republics and the army itself for the upcoming changes.

The army may be in for changes so drastic that the recent withdrawal from Eastern Europe will fade in comparison to them.

From Magdeburg to the Southern Kurils

Since the time of Prince Ivan Kalita this country's defence space has been expanding in all directions. The newly gained lands were added to the state in concentric circles centered around Moscow, and as a result the historical-geographical cross section of the country reminds one of rings of a mighty old tree. With Moscow in the centre, Russia is composed of lands it annexed during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and later czars. The rings of land might be narrower or wider, but the process of expansion never stopped and for generations Russian people believed that it was necessary and irreversible.

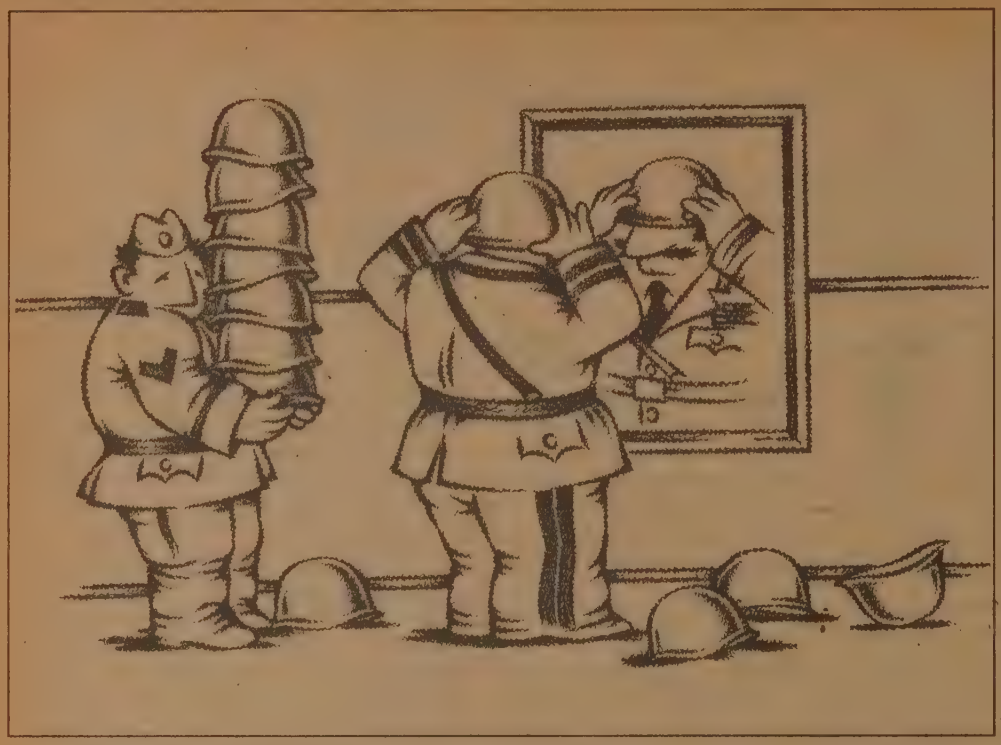
The territorial expansion reached its peak in the 1940s–70s. The forward edge of Soviet defense was already deployed beyond the Elbe, Danube, and Vltava and for the first time in history Soviet defence space became global, not just regional (European or Asian).

Today this defence space which used to stretch from Magdeburg in the West to the Southern Kurils in the East is shrinking. The Soviet leadership formulated the objective clearly: to create a defensive system within the national confines of the USSR. A large-scale redeployment of Soviet armed forces is in the full swing and all Soviet forces will have been deployed strictly inside the territory of the USSR by January 1995. It has not been announced where and how the Soviet armed forces will be redeployed. This problem is regarded as a purely technical one which has nothing to do with politics. This is a grave mistake.

NATO is no example for us

As they withdraw to the East, Soviet troops are amassing in the republics which have either opted for secession or are demanding a radical decrease in the military presence in their confines. Obviously, the choice of new deployment locations is not always voluntary: more reasonable, militarily as well, locations are not possible to use due to the underdeveloped infrastructure in this country's more remote areas, like Siberia or the Far East. Modern aircraft can only take off hard-surface airstrips with long runways. The tough dilemma is whether to build new airbases even when the national budget is suffering from a considerable deficit, or to use what is currently available. For the time being...

So far the Moscow Kremlin has remained the symbol of the state. The entire system of military defence of this country has been oriented at this centre. This monocentric vision dominates even the professional approaches to defence matters as can be seen from the official military reform concept. The attempts at rescuing the integrated defence system in such a way is fraught with the danger of the complete disintegration of the defence system, because it does not take into account the changing political realities. There is no point in spending prodigious sums on a new defence system which



Drawing by Sergei Khasabov

will have to be reshaped anyway, if security interests of all participants in the new union are not harmonized and their mutual rights and duties are not clearly defined.

In our opinion, it is necessary to conclude a separate security treaty alongside the new Union Treaty. Such a treaty would be unprecedented in both Soviet and world history. The experience of the Warsaw Pact (1955–91) can be very instructive, but unfortunately, it contains many negative points as well. The experience of NATO is not very helpful either, because while NATO is integrating, we must re-integrate, that is transfer many serious prerogatives from the federal government to the republican ones, and create conditions under which the Soviet republics will become equally secure partners.

It is known from history that the process of disintegration of empires and emergence of sovereign states is usually accompanied by serious upheavals and conflicts, including armed ones. The Armenian-Azerbaijani war over Nagorno-Karabakh confirms this general rule, so do the armed clashes in South Ossetia.

The Union cannot rule out differences in the security sphere but it can and must rule out forceful ways of settling such differences. It must be recalled that after they entered NATO, Greece and Turkey never used force against each other despite very acute differences. The settling of the British-Spanish dispute over Gibraltar was facilitated after the two nations had entered NATO and the Common Market. Similar results may be achieved in this country as well. The peace-keeping role in the country could be performed by a federal force, which will not be seen as the centre's crack troops, and will be coordinated by an effective mechanism for mutual consultations.

A costly memorial

The military-technical component of the new structure will be an integrated system of a new type. The military-administrative division, the theatres of operation and the echelons of the new system must correspond to the new political structure. If this is not taken into account, the formally new defence system that will preserve its old centrist content will become a costly monument to the military development's lagging behind the political processes.

First, getting ready to conclude the new Union Treaty, it is necessary to think over, to coordinate and to legally seal the distribution of rights, duties, and prerogatives between the federal and national structures.

Second, it is necessary to reorient the military development programmes to a polycentric political structure corresponding to the new state system.

Third, while reorganizing the defence space, it is necessary to make maximal use of the existing infrastructure, adapting it to the solution of new tasks.

Fourth, the union of nine states must consider the problem of shaping strategic relations with the republics that will refuse to enter the union.

There are no reasons why the confines of the security system must coincide with economic or political borders. The invitation to participate in the security system must be issued to all republics which now make up the USSR. It is necessary to demonstrate flexibility as to the forms and volume of some states' participation in the security treaty.

The Union states will be interested in preventing the outgoing republics from becoming the launching sites or corridors of aggression. The outgoing republics will in one way or another be interested in receiving security guarantees from the new Union. Eventually, bilateral security agreements based on a mutual balance of security interests will have to be concluded.

The Finnish model

Before starting the negotiations, it is necessary to define the interests of the sides, to work out various strategies to provide for these interests. The Union is interested in preventing the potential military threat from coming closer to its borders. This could be achieved by the application to what is known as the Finnish model. The Soviet Union and the Baltics could undertake mutual commit-

ments similar to those stipulated by the 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty. This would rule out the probability that one of the signatories' territory might be used to the detriment of the other signatory's security.

This is only one variant of the solution of this complicated problem. Before such an agreement is reached, there will have to be a lengthy transition period. The Soviet Union has started consultations with the Baltics which also touch upon military issues. The General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces has recently set up a directorate for relations with the state bodies of power and administration of the USSR and Union republics.

One of the problems over which the Ministry of Defence and the Baltic parliaments are seriously divided is the deployment of Soviet troops in the Baltics. The parliaments insist that the troops be withdrawn; the Defence Ministry thinks such demands are "premature" and refers to the Constitution of the USSR and the principle of inviolability of the borders. Putting aside the extremely important political aspect of this dispute, one has to admit that the Soviet troops' presence in the Baltics is necessary for the defence interests of this country.

At the same time the Defence Ministry's tough stance (shared by the Union parliament) is fraught with the risk that Soviet troops will have to be pulled out of many, if not all, strategic frontiers, paying a greater price than the one which has to be paid now. What do we mean?

The Baltic parliaments are speaking about "deoccupation." This term is hardly acceptable, but it is not the main problem. First and foremost, we must make it clear for ourselves that in the current conditions the presence of Soviet troops in areas where they are not welcome constitutes a formidable risk for the national security of the USSR. Troops can only be deployed where they are welcome, otherwise the damage (including the purely military damage) of the troops' presence may outweigh all the desired strategic and operational advantages. It would be useful if the federal leadership issued a political declaration of its preparedness to consider the problem of Soviet military presence in the republics with republican parliaments. This must be a political declaration saying that the specific conditions of the troops' reduction and pullout, financial, property terms, and all other pertinent issues will be the subject of negotiations between the Union and the republics.

Without stereotypes

The troops are still in the areas where they were deployed and they cannot be transferred to new deployment areas overnight. Hence the necessity to define the troops' status in the territories of their current deployment both in the remaining and outgoing republics.

In our opinion, units of the Soviet Army and Navy, wherever they may be deployed, must not interfere in the internal affairs of republics. The issue in question is not only armed interference (there must be reliable guarantees that armed force will never be used inside the country), but also servicemen's participation in republican elections and referendums. To remove the concern of some republics we suggest that all servicemen vote in the constituences where they reside or from which they were called up. The composition, strength, and deployment area of the troops must be defined exclusively by the demands of national defence.

Sooner or later it will become necessary to conclude an agreement on Soviet military bases in the Baltics. It is easier to conclude such an agreement now when the federal leadership is in a bargaining position. The main aim of such an agreement will be to defuse the atmosphere around the Baltic military district and to leave troops to attend to their principal mission – defence of the Soviet Union's strategically most important stretch of the western boundary.

The rejection of any use of armed forces as a tool of interference in republican affairs will result in a calmer atmosphere and more sober assessments of the problems facing us. It is highly likely that with time the political aspect of the troops' presence will be phased out by the economic and financial aspects.

The Baltic example is not a universal model. In the case of Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia different solutions may have to be sought. The main thing is to keep abreast of the developments, not to be too late with solutions, to be bold enough to see and discuss the least appealing variants of developments. The new organization of our defence space will require a detailed analysis, otherwise the military reform will turn out to be an exorbitantly expensive but useless undertaking.

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THE SUMMIT

Recipes for the health of society

Alexander Pumpyansky

If we want our society to recover we have to follow Western recipes

Two men have a particularly close relationship with the US President – the White House press secretary, his public alter ego,and the President's personal doctor. At a dinner given by George Bush for President Gorbachev in the Spaso House residence of the US ambassador in Moscow the editor-in-chief of *New Times* happened to sit between them. There is no need to present Marlin Fitzwater to the public. As for the President's doctor, he introduced himself in this way: "When you come to Washington, ask for a 'crazy doctor,' it's me."

The price of dinner in Moscow

During the first half of the evening the "crazy doctor," a lively and witty man, tried to find out how much it costs to have dinner in Moscow. Being a patriot, I replied as diplomatically as possible: "In my student years you felt great with ten rubles in your pocket." But the "crazy doctor" was not interested in my lyric recollections. "A couple of years ago supper in a good restaurant would cost you 20 to 25 rubles," I added therefore. "With wine and caviar," I received unexpected backing from a diplomat who had worked in the American embassy in Moscow for several years. Feeling that a further delay was impossible I said: "And today supper would cost you 90 to 100 rubles."

"Three and a half dollars!" the doctor exclaimed. "It's fantastically cheap. Then why did my friend, a correspondent, have to pay 90 dollars for supper yesterday? Who can afford to pay so much in your country?"

It was obviously the most unpleasant moment of the Soviet-American summit, at least for me. In a confused and unconvincing way I began to explain our public catering system and its whims: in one place you pay in rubles and in another they demand only dollars. I also tried to explain our social system in which wealth inevitably assumes an ugly form as if to set off the merits of an official ideal – noble equality in poverty.

In spite of his vivid mind, the "crazy doctor" failed to grasp the essence of our market relations. In despair, he turned to politics as a more simple theme. "Marlin," he asked the press secretary, "you have visited Moscow in the past. How was it this time?"

"Yes," Fitzwater agreed. "I was in Moscow for the first time in 1988, when I accompanied President Reagan. It was a wonderful visit. Nevertheless, relations between our two countries remained tense. At present, cooperation and interest have been fully shown at every level of negotiations and tension has disappeared. The change in the atmosphere was striking."

A monument to the epoch

In my opinion two main results of the Moscow summit can be noted: the strategic arms reduction treaty (START) and a new atmosphere of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The reduction of strategic offensive arms, this "infrastructure of global terror," by 30 to 40 percent is undoubtedly an outstanding achievement. The 700-page document, hardly understandable in all details even to the experts who worked on it, prompted George Bush to describe it as a monument to the pains of several generations of negotiators. It is an ambiguous expression, though. However much we may admire the skill of diplomats to undo knots (or scold them for the inability to do that during years and even decades) we understand that the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms would never have been signed had not Soviet-American relations changed fundamentally.

Nuclear weapons were produced during the Second World War because of fear that the aggressive totalitarian fascist system would acquire a superweapon. They proliferated like microbes during the cold war and inspired global fear. The fear of total annihilation and the ruinous arms race brought about East-West summit meetings – the first attempts to curb the runaway nuclear reaction. However, these attempts were rather contradictory.

No one questioned the existence of opposing systems and, therefore, the confrontation between the two worlds remained, only in a slightly regulated form with a guarantee from death by mistake.

Foreign policy and domestic problems interwined in a peculiar way during the Soviet-American summit

Six years after the beginning of perestroika such a state of affairs looks like a dreadful anachronism.

A fundamental change is usually described as the end of the cold war, and its outward signs are evident in every sphere.

Internal signs have become clear only now. Awakened by glasnost, Soviet society has undertaken a great reformation from the communist monopoly on property and power to democracy and a market economy.

The formula of world coexistence has changed, if you like. From now on journalists need not bring up Hamlet's question, "To be or not to be." It is not relevant today. The rhetoric task of "winning or dying" in the battle between opposing systems has given way to the practical task of making the Soviet system compatible with the Western one.

The doomsday arsenals of weapons have become morally obsolete and unnecessary in principle.

There is a view (incidentally, it was convincingly and expertly substantiated by Andrei Kortunov in the last issue of *New Times*) that the process of reduction of nuclear arms has exhausted itself and that a long pause will follow after the conclusion of START. Of course, "the big lump" is yet to be digested, and the military has been rehabilitated to some extent. Nevertheless, the main conclusion is entirely different in my opinion.

After war comes demilitarization. The cold war is not an exception. Only regression to the cold war and no progress towards the democratic and market-oriented transformation of Soviet society can slow down its drastic and long-matured transition to peaceful life. So big cuts in nuclear and conventional arms and the conversion of defence-related industries have to be carried out in the future. This is required by both internal and external conditions.

The early Christians and the present-day Communists

One can already hear panicked cries about the loss of military parity, the mortal danger of lagging behind in the nuclear race, ideological treachery, and high treason.

The diehards of the arms race are intent on preventing change. The diehards in the Communist Party are prepared to live eternally in trenches. Incidentally, this circumstance supports the claim of communism about its affinity with Christianity, though with some difference. About two millennia ago the early Christians did find protection from persecution in catacombs. The present-day Communists – intolerant of any dissent, just as they were in the days of their undivided rule – call people into caves in order to protect them from 20th-century civilization.

There is the hope though that the people are dead tired of both ideological fundamentalists and the lobby of the military-industrial complex, and that society is no longer able to satisfy their endless and exorbitant claims.

The Moscow summit is inseparable from the London meeting of the Group of Seven leading industrial democracies (see the article about it in No. 30). It is a landmark event which closes one epoch – farewell to arms and confrontation – and opens a new one – welcome to new partnership. A new world is still fragile, and one can only imagine how it will develop. The former inertia remains and the old approaches have not been given up.

President Bush spoke from a position of strength and achieved his goals, while Gorbachev acted from a position of weakness and yielded to pressure. The Soviet Union has splintered and become dependent on the West. It has lost its reputation as a great power and its former sovereignty. Such is the widespread point of view. Most often it is expressed in a panicked and primitive way, but sometimes this is done with brilliance. Let me quote one passage.

"Under Gorbachev the media began to write about a civilized world, seeing its main criteria in the United States, ranging from the two-party system and the division of power to Gospel preachers and hamburgers. During his visits to Moscow in the past the US President, strictly observing the democratic ritual and encountering the confusion and discontent of the other party, raised the question of the persecution of human rights champions. The situation has changed radically now. Bush has supporters in Soviet society – influential elite elements prepared to support the US stand publicly and, if necessary, come out against the President of the USSR. The independent and liberal press backs the approaches of Bush, not of Gorbachev, say, on the question of aid to the Castro-led Cuba. The Russian leadership holds the same position. The republics draw their

strength from the weakness of the central government. Gorbachev is compelled to yield to them, to the West and to the United States. At the price of concessions he wins political support from the outside world. This support is then demonstrated to the republics as proof of his usefulness in foreign policy. Though in many respects Gorbachev is a historic figure, sometimes he looks like a rope-walker, with the rope held from both sides by people who are beyond his control."

Thus writes Stanislav Kondrashov in the newspaper *Izvestia*. I have a rare opportunity to disagree with my old friend. As usual, a publicist has a keen eye. He sees everything that is new in our life and is the first to accept the challenge of problems. But in the given case, I think, a keen insight was not demonstrated.

I am afraid that nostalgia for the former monolithic unity of Soviet policy is not justified. Indeed, quite recently no one in the republics, nor the media dared to dispute the official view, whatever its merits. Brezhnev, Gromyko, and Ustinov (former defence minister) were a standard of firmness. This absurd policy led to criminal decisions such as the deployment of SS-20 missiles and the Afghan war. The world community – 100 states – denounced the USSR as an aggressor. However, we were completely independent of world public opinion while dead silence inside the country symbolized the absolute support of the people for their government.

Actually, this monolithic stance had only one reason behind it: this country's entire policy used to be shaped by the Communist Party and the military industreial complex. Their omnipotence was a factor that defined the inevitability of the outbreaks of the cold war.

We should be glad that all this disgrace is now a thing of the past, that a civil society and political pluralism are shaping in this country even if in pains and through contradictions.

Of course, sometimes it assumes grotesque forms, suffice it to look at the manoeuvres in the square Gorbachev–Yeltsin– Nazarbayev–Kravchuk. It is easy to notice manifestations of personal ambitions and jealosy. It is also hard to fail to notice that the new leaders are competing in a good pursuit trying to beat each other in leading the reforms and rapprochement with the West, thus facilitating the reform and undermining the sacred alliance of ideologues and the military.

Gorbachev is mastering experience which is new for him and for all of us – the experience of reaching a consensus and, new, general unity. In the past few weeks or months he has been doing this perhaps better than others. In this lies his strength, not weakness. Thank God that we have no autocrats any longer.

When were we strong?

Critics say that President Bush spoke like a mentor. He openly emphasized the advantages of democratic capitalism over authoritarian socialism and insistently underlined differences on three positions: Moscow's backing of the Castro regime, the attitude towards the independence of the Baltic republics, and four islands in the Far East which are a stumbling block in relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. As regards economic cooperation, critics say, the President merely promised to submit a trade agreement with the USSR for ratification by the Congress and to grant the USSR most-favoured-nation status.

I find it difficult to agree with this criticism. Partnership implies frankness and the desire for general criteria. The failure to speak up and double standards are more typical of confrontation diplomacy. Since we admit the authority of universal values it is better to think how our behaviour on one or another question conforms to common sense and international law.

It is time we understood that no one is obliged to do anything for us and that we have no grounds on which to strike a proud attitude.

Our country has suffered a historic defeat. There is no satisfaction in the fact that we have been defeated by our own system, not an external enemy. We ought to learn from those who have achieved success and those who transformed their defeat into victory.

Germany and Japan surrendered unconditionally in 1945. The Americans imposed their constitution and economic system on these countries. Today the vanquished nations have surpassed their teachers in many respects. One can only imagine what tragic consequences the victory of Germany and Japan would have had for their peoples.

The West offers us what it has – its school of a market economy, technical aid, experts, and control over reforms.

At the initial stage of perestroika our economic executives counted on state control which had to ensure quality. Today the finance ministers of the Group of Seven and experts of international financial organizations offer international control – making our decisions correspond to the world level. It is more precious than money, though financial aid will be given, too. Capital will be invested when we build a real market economy, not a socialist one. We should not invent our socialist stock exchange, socialist banks, and home-made budget mechanisms. We should not build capitalism in one country taken separately.

In fact, we have never been strong. When the cold war hysteria passed it became clear that our social and economic health is measured not by our military strength but by how democratic our society is, by the degree of freedom of the system and guaranteed freedoms of the individual. We have to follow Western recipes if we want our society to recover.

"The strategy of nuclear deterrence has collapsed, because there is no one to deter"

William Hyland, editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs*, published by the influential Council on Foreign Relations, talks with *New Times* correspondent **Evgeny Rusakov**

New Times. What is the significance of the Moscow Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive arms?

William Hyland. It gives both parties a feeling of certainty as to what will happen in the military strategic situation. The limits of armaments have been defined by the treaty for the next ten years. Of great importance is the detailed procedure of checking, because both parties were suspicious of each other in the past. But, in fact, the USA and the USSR agreed that they can feel better with considerably lower levels of armaments.

N.T. It is widely thought in the United States that the US should not hurry to conclude the next treaty on strategic offensive armaments. It would be better to wait and then seek not a comprehensive treaty, but local agreements on individual aspects. Many prefer stabilizing measures to further reduction of strategic armaments.

W.H. Stabilizing measures are a good idea, but they are hard to work out. It should be remembered that the arms race was a consequence of political rivalry, of the confrontation in Stalin's times and later on. Now the basis of such confrontation has disappeared completely and the role of armaments in politics has changed accordingly. The Soviet Union's refusal to with-

draw its troops from Germany would have had much greater consequences for the United States than the miraculous appearance in your country of another 1,000 units of armaments. In other words, military strategic problems are no longer tropical. They have lost their central role in Soviet-American relations.

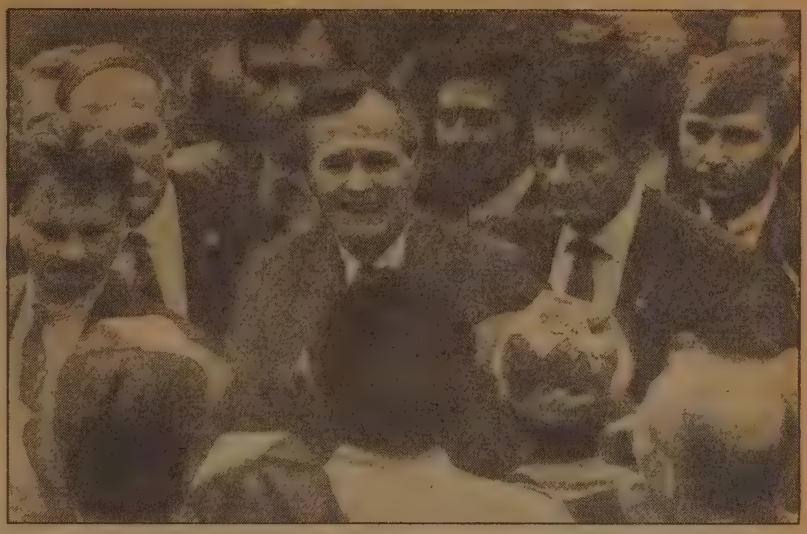
N.T. What is the present nuclear strategy of the United States? Does it stick to the doctrine of mutual assured destruction and the concept of a limited strategic nuclear war which provides for striking at the command posts and missiles of the other party?

W.H. The change in the strategy is explained by the fact that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Eastern Europe the physical possibility of a military clash between the two armies disappeared. The concept of extended deterrence has been questioned because there is no one to deter. The foundations of the American strategy of nuclear deterrence have collapsed. I do not know what will replace it, just as I do not know what the Soviet strategic doctrine will be like. In the past, Soviet military experts put much emphasis on the potential for waging a strategic nuclear war. All these doctrines are pointless today.

N.T. The Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Moscow shows that the centre of attention in American-Soviet relations is shifting more and more to economic problems. Can the present situation be regarded as a historic chance for America to lead the industrialized nations in giving assistance to the Soviet Union in its transition to a democratic market society integrated into the world economy? Or perhaps some Americans think it is now time to do away with the arch-enemy of past decades?

W.H. If there are Americans holding the second view, their number is small. Most Americans think that their country has a historic chance to help the USSR in its transformation. But there is not enough money. Besides, neither Americans nor the majority of Soviet representatives have any idea of how to convert a socialist economy into a market one. We are faced with the old dilemma of what comes first the chicken or the egg? Should Western aid precede reforms in the Soviet Union or vice versa? I was disappointed with the results of the seven-nation meeting in London. The West could do more to render assistance to the USSR, but no one knew what was needed. The Soviet party the West's position easier with its vague plan. No one can understand which of the numerous Soviet programmes deserves attention.

N.T. The constituent republics of the USSR consistently establish their sovereignty. Under the 9+1 agreements and the draft of a new Treaty of Union they posses new status, in foreign policy as well. Did George Bush recognize the new role of republics by his meeting with Yeltsin and trip to the Ukraine?



The Soviet Union may soon hold the record in the number of presidents. However the US President was the first to have visited Babii Yar *TASS Photo*

W.H. There is one problem existing since 1940, the problem of the Baltic republics...

N.T. Let's put that aside. In the Soviet Union today there isgreat understanding if not recognition of the fact that the Baltic republics were annexed...

W.H. We get an entirely new picture if the problem of the Baltic republics is left aside. In principle, the United States is interested in a renovated Soviet Union with its republics enjoying great powers. We support the concept of a new Treaty of Union and do not want the USSR to disintegrate into numerous small states.

N.T. Despite its present upheavals the Soviet Union remains and will remain a great power playing an important role in world politics. Do you share this opinion?

W.H. In the Middle East the USSR has had a traditionally important role. For Mexicans, for instance, it is not very important what the Soviet Union thinks about their country. In my opinion the USSR is no longer a global superpower. But that is not so bad for your country. The role of the Soviet Union in the world has increased in many respects. Moscow's responsible stand in the United Nations and its support of the anti-Saddam coalition strengthened the Soviet Union's positions much more than if it had sided with Baghdad. The USSR continues to play a very important role in Europe, the Far East, in Middle East affairs, but plays a lesser role in Africa or Central America. The point is different, however: the era of superpowers has ended. Ten years ago they carried much greater weight.

N.T. In my country there are two views of the Soviet Union's role in the changed world. Reformists believe that, in spite of all economic and political upheavals, the USSR has embarked on the path of integration into the world economy and transformation into a democratic society, a state will play an important part in building a new world order. Conservatives allege that 10 or 15 years ago the Soviet Union was respected, though some did not like it, that it had many allies and friends in the world, while today it has lost both friends and allies, the status of a superpower, and billions of dollars in Eastern Europe and Iraq without gretting anything in exchange.

W.H. The attempt of the Soviet conservatives to present a revisionist view of the Soviet Union is almost amusing. They are deeply mistaken in their belief that the USSR was respected. It was feared, not respected. The Czechs, Romanians, Bulgarians, and other East Europeans feared the Soviet Union. The governments of these countries did not enjoy respect or support either. They were considered servants of the Soviet occupationists. If the conservatives want to persuade someone that the events in Eastern Europe were the result of some conspiracy, they are obviously at odds with reality. Let them talk with any Czech or Hungarian and he will tell them how he lived in an atmosphere of fear and suppression when his country was a pawn in Soviet hands.

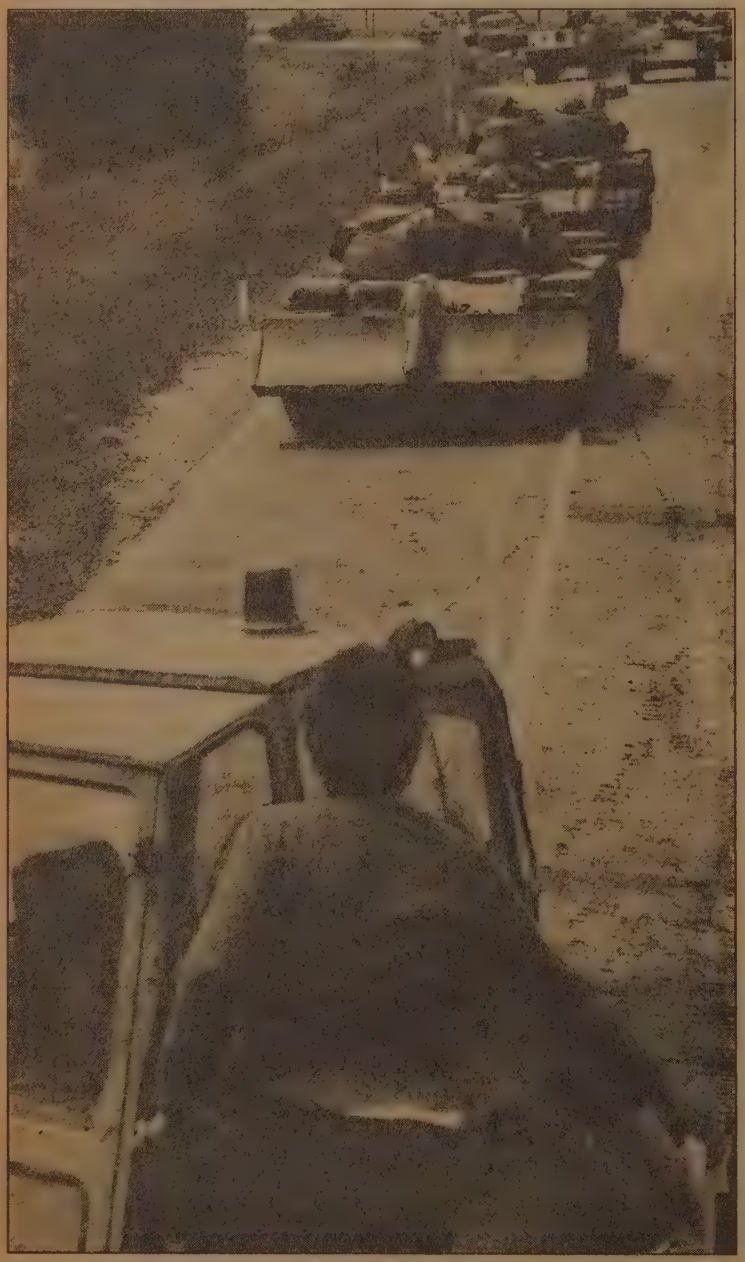
As for Iraq, it is a great delusion to regard it as an ally. Hussein did not have and does not have allies. He has few allies even in the Arab world. He used the Soviet Union to his avantage by receiving arms from it.

With its vast territory and immense resourses will always be great power. I belive that by the beginning of the next century your country will become much stronger. That is why we support a new Soviet Union as it is viewed by reformists in your country. No one in the US wants the future powerful Soviet Union to be in the hands of extreme right aggressive chauvinistic forces.

NEW YORK

The war is not yet over

Slovenia is the first of the Yugoslav republics to have decided to secede from the federation. Below its President Milan KUČAN replies to *New Times* questions



Tanks and refugees on the roads of Yugoslavia

This republic at the foot of the Alps is often called Yugoslav Switzerland. It can boast of its mountain meadows, coniferous woods, limpid rivers, and beaches on the coast of the emerald Adriatic Sea. However, today the name of the republic is associated with the word "war".

Slovenian President Milan Kučan kindly agreed to give an interview to this correspondent and a correspondent of the Novosti Information Agency, Sergei Gryzunov. For the sake of precaution an armed guard escorted us to the doors of his office. However, Kučan does not look like the supreme commander of the republican troops who opposed Yugoslav People's Army units only a month ago.

Some call Kučan "Yugoslav Landsbergis" (President of Lithuania), others a truth lover, and still others a wise man steadily advancing towards his goal. In any case, he enjoys public support.

Mr. President, Yugoslavia has become a hot spot of Europe. What are the causes of the current events in the country?

The point is that Yugoslavia was late for the "European train." It remained a community built on ideological principles, with a one-party system and an ideologized army. Such a state proved incapable of solving national problems in keeping with the demands of the times. Instead of being expanded, democratic freedoms were infringed upon and the rights of national minorities ignored.

Europe is obviously concerned about the spontaneous and uncontrolled breakup of such multinational states as Yugoslavia. For this reason many regarded Slovenia as a dangerous virus which could infect other countries, first of all the Soviet Union, with its nuclear warheads. A similar analogy is rather conditional, because Yugoslavia was formed through a voluntary unification of its peoples while the USSR inherited to a considerable extent the territory of the Russian Empire.

What are you planning to do?

The decision of Slovenia to proclaim independence does not indicate a desire to establish a closed state. Such a desire holds no prospects for any country, big or small. We have drafted laws backing up the independence of our republic – on an independent bank, a new financial system, and an own monetary unit. However, the implementation of these laws will take some time. During this period we shall continue the process of coordination with the federal government.

It seems you were unable to reach an agreement with the central government on the question of guarding the republic's frontiers.

In insisting on the protection of Slovenia's borders by our own efforts we proceed from the general European tendency. On our continent the frontiers are usually guarded by police.

Slovenia has accepted a three-month moratorium on its decision to secede from the federation. How are you going to use this time?

We shall use this to reach an agreement on the gradual devolution of federal powers to Slovenia.

How do you see Slovenia's relations with the other Yugoslav republics in the future?

It is obviously impossible to maintain these relations on the ideological basis. The forms of Slovenia's relationship with other republics – whether they remain in the federation or choose independence – will be determined first of all by economic interests and the partners' readiness for cooperation. The range of possible cooperation is broad, from the establishment of free trade zones to a common monetary system.

A future community will not necessarily consist of Yugoslavia's present constituent republics. The integration of regional states or a middle European community can be regarded as a possibility. In other words, it is not only a matter of shuffling the cards from the old Yugoslav pack. Other combinations are possible, too.

Do you think that a further escalation of conflicts is inevitable in Yugoslavia? Some leaders of Croatia declare, for instance, that "the war is only beginning."

Europe will not allow a large-scale conflict in Yugoslavia, not because of deep affection for the southern Slavs but because such a course of events would endanger its own interests. Furthermore, a war will not solve the dispute. The same problems would remain after it.

And the same border dispute between republics? Is a new demarcation of borders within Yugoslavia inevitable?

There are no experts who could fix borders agreeable to everyone. Today it is impossible to establish ethnically clean states. The dream of a greater Serbia is a myth. The Serbs living in Croatia can, of course, demand special rights for themselves, up to political autonomy. But Serbia will have then to grant the same autonomy to the Albanians living in Kosovo, to the Hungarians in Vojvodina, and so on.

The Yugoslav crisis is being internationalized. Does it not violate the principle of non-interference?

Yugoslavia has virtually lost its economic and, in a large measure, its political sovereignty. International control over the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from our territory is in the interests of Slovenia. We do not regard it as interference in our domestic affairs. On the contrary, we see it as assistance. Slovenia has no objections to accepting observers not just from the European Community. The question of extending the activity of foreign observers to other territories of Yugoslavia has now been raised. However, Serbia objects to this proposal.

What do you think of the prospect of seeing the UN blue helmets from the windows of your office?

If political means for settling the crisis are exhausted, this prospect will become quite real. However, blue helmets will be busy here more than in the Middle East where they act as a buffer separating the hostile parties. In Yugoslavia they will have to separate one village from another and, in some places, one street from another.

A few days ago the leaders of Lithuania recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. What is your reaction to this statement and will it affect Slovenia's relations with the Soviet Union?

We regard Lithuania's decision as a gesture of solidarity. However, Slovenia does not want it to spoil its relations with the Soviet Union. Our interest in cooperation with the peoples of your country will remain, irrespective of the fate of the Soviet federation.

How do you explain the transformation of your own views – from the leader of the League of Communists of Slovenia to the president of an independent state?

The change in my views in connected with changes in the world. Seeking to retain its power, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia could not get rid of dogmatism. A sort of resistance movement arose within the party. The Slovenian Communists were the only ones to waive their power voluntarily. They were sure that without such an act Slovenia would be unable to develop successfully.

Slovenes usually stress their distinction from the other peoples of Yugoslavia. Do you share this view?

We have never concealed that we are Slovenes first of all, and then Slavs.

Gennady Sysoyev,
our own correspondent

VUKOVAR–LJUBLJANA–BELGRADE

Serbs flee from Croatia

Streams of refugees are moving along the roads leading from Croatia to Serbia and other republics. Over 30,000 have already left their homes. Refugees are going along the same roads as their grandfathers did in 1941. True, most of them are women and children. Men have remained to fight.

The Serbs living in Croatia do not agree with the decision of its leaders to secede from Yugoslavia while the leaders do not want to reckon with the opinion of the Serbian compatriots. The Croatian national guards, backed by the police, are trying to subdue the dissentient Serbs. However, they are meeting with a well organized repulse on the part of Serbian enclaves. Sustaining losses, the Croation guards retreat in order to repeat an attack in a day or two. The Yugoslav army, which has been moved into the area to separate the belligerents, is becoming increasingly involved in the ethnic conflict.

Each party has its own version of events. The Croats allege that Serbian terrorists are being infiltrated into Croatia to wave a struggle against its lawful power while the Serbs claim that they are fighting to prevent Zagreb from turning their territory into ethnically clean Croatian areas.

True, so far "Serbian terrorists" have not beeen discovered in Croatia, though contrary to the official ban, voluntary armed units are being formed in Serbia to defend the Serbs living in Croatia. Rumours about the planned killing of Serbs have not been confirmed either. However, fears are not absolutely unfounded. During the Second World War, on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, an ally of Nazi Germany, the Croatian Ustashi shot to death, burned, or buried alive about a million Serbs.

No party has as yet showed readiness for a compromise. Žarko Domljan, head of the Croatian parliament, says: "The war is only beginning." The Serbs declare their determination to "fight to the last man." Vukovar and some other towns in the areas bordering on Serbia are swarming with young Croats called up to maintain public law and order. As the strength of the Croatian police and guards is beefed up, the frequency of armed clashes increases.

Can the Serbs and Croats, who speak virtually the same language, coexist peacefully? Mutual enmity is so strong that the prospect of peace in the region seems unrealistic.

Seven and a half

It is fortunate that the West has not given money to the USSR, **Gerald Frost** and **Andrew McHallam**, leading experts from the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, said in a talk with *New Times* correspondent Sergei Babusenko

New Times. You do not seem very optimistic about the results of the seven nations' meeting in London, do you?

Gerald Frost. The most positive result of the meeting is that you have not been given cash. The West heaved a sigh of relief. In an economic slump after the multi-billion expenditure on the war in the Persian Gulf, any financial injection would hit ordinary taxpayers hard. I would also be hit hard. However, Western countries offered the Soviet Union a package deal for the support of its reforms.

Besides, each country had its own tasks to achieve. Germany tried to cement the foundations of special relations which have formed between Moscow and Bonn. Japan, trying not to keep away from other countries, plays its own game. The British premier gained additional trump cards before a general election. The Americans, who have to trim their military spending, found a way out of the impasse by concluding a treaty on strategic offensive arms. In short, everyone received some dividends. And Gorbachev, too. He gained support from the leaders of seven most powerful states, and this strengthens his position in the USSR.

But let us be honest. Nothing special has happened in principle. Only the beginning of the road has been outlined, and it is difficult to say to what shore it will lead.

Drawing by Viktor Bogorad

N.T. Is it correct to say that a new formula, "7+1", has appeared in international affairs?

G.F. It will be more correct to use the formula "7+1/2". The rich nations have no desire to enlarge the Club of Seven. The associated membership of the USSR in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is not yet a membership card of the club but rather a bill which has to be paid. It will be so until the West is given a guarantee that Gorbachev's programme of reforming the Soviet economy will be crowned with success. A mixture of the programmes of Yavlinsky and Pavlov is a unique phenomenon, as is, incidentally, everything which is happening in the USSR. However, the unnatural hybrid is unlikely to benefit the Soviet economy.

Without a cheque in the pocket

N.T. Nevertheless, the West offered Moscow a package of several points under which the USSR could receive assistance.

G.F. It is so indeed. But if the situation in the USSR begins to change under the usual "winter-summer" law, when in the cold season your leadership makes a shift towards the conservative forces, the Seven will have a hard time. For the Western leaders have undertaken concrete engagements, virtually tying themselves to reforms in the USSR. Unfortunately, there has already been some sad experience in the perestroika period. The 500 days plan can be recalled in particular.

Andrew McHallam. I think Gerald is right. I would describe the hasty support of Gorbachev's plan as a negative result of the London meeting. Actions of this kind make the seven leaders dependent on the processes taking place in the USSR. I am not quite sure that the programme advanced by Gorbachev leads to a real market economy.

N.T. Proceeding from what you have just said, an unenviable lot falls on British representatives who are the first to visit Moscow after the London meeting.

A.M. I think that Chancellor of the Exchequer Lamont is very cautious and did not bring a cheque in his pocket. The British representatives will act strictly in accordance with the decisions adopted by the Seven.

G.F. Besides, Britain does not have free financial reserves for investment abroad. The British government is faced with the task of stabilizing its own economy in view of the approaching general election.

N.T. Newspapers quoted Prime Minister Major's statement about the untapped reserves of the Soviet economy. What did he have in mind?

G.F. Today, too, you have immense natural resources. Besides, you have the possibility to obtain fantastic means from the reduction of military spending. According to some estimates, your military spending runs up to a fourth of the gross national product. It is a prodigal sum. The reduction of this expenditure at least by half will help solve some problems caused by the change to a market economy.

It is easier to build new plants

N.T. Can the West give the USSR assistance in the conversion of its defence industry?

A.M. On the whole, I am sceptical about conversion of any kind. I do not understand how the assembly of submarines can be converted into the production of washing machines. It would be more concrete, in my opinion, to talk about the manufacture of alternative goods.

G.F. I think it is not realistic, as Gorbachev proposes, to put the militarized economy on a new footing within three to four years. It will be better to build new plants for the manufacture of civilian goods during this period. One should not harbor illusions. There was a time in the West, during the second world war, when enterprises switched over from civilian to military production. When the need for this disappeared it was easy to return to peace-time production. So we had not conversion but reconversion. You have created problems by building plants with lop-sided military technology. Western companies do not engage in the production of solely military products, inspite of the profit that could bring. Their technologies have a universal character.

A.M. I think that private capital is indispensable in the transformation of your military-industrial complex. In principle, there will be interest in private capital. Your munition factories have highly skilled manpower, trained engineering and designing personnel, and competent managers. But how will the defence ministry accept the idea?

N.T. You have in mind Western private capital, don't you?

G.F. Private capital has no nationality. Let us take British Aerospace. It is a British company, of course, with the participation of foreign capital, as you say. Nevertheless, I assure you, the personnel of this company can keep state secrets.

N.T. I don't even know what question to ask to finish the interview on an optimistic note.

G.F. I shall try to help you. The Seven and Gorbachev have started a big game. The main thing in it is to keep the rules. If there are no fouls blows success is guaranteed.

LONDON

Marcelino Oreja:

We have been challenged

Chairman of the Constituent Commission of the European Parliament, Foreign Minister in Spain's first democratic government, Marcelino Oreja talks to Sergei Muravyov of *New Times* about the Soviet Union's place in a new Europe

New Times. You were a member of the government that steered the country from autocracy to democracy. What do you think is the difference and similarity between the situation in Spain at that time and that in the Soviet Union today?

Marcelino Oreja. At that time the priority task was to define Spain's place in the world. There were two priorities: to include Spain in the group of free countries and to normalize relations with other states. That is why we immediately started the process of integration with the Common Market. Within two years we established diplomatic relations with twenty countries including the USSR. We also adopted the new Constitution and concluded a social accord between all political and social forces known as the Moncloa Pact and held the second general elections. After that our priority became integration into NATO.

In 1975 Spain already had an effective free market economy. There was now law-guaranteed freedom, but freedom was in the air. The people were already breathing democracy, and the Adolfo Suarez government made democracy a constitutional norm.

In the Soviet Union the situation is different and has no parallels with Spain.

Big brains in an empty hall

The summer courses of the Madrid-based Complutense University have concluded their work in Moscow's half empty lecture halls. The courses included lectures by Europe's brightest minds in the fields of state development, politics, economics, and finance. Despite the fact that the courses were a non-commercial undertaking the Spanish side had to pay $ 60,000 for the leasing of premises from the Social Sciences Academy under the CPSU Central Committee. The Academy undertook to provide prominent Soviet lecturers and enough students, but then opted to entrust this task to a cooperative, in which some of the Academy members have an interest, and to set a 1,000 to 3,000 rubles' admission fee for each Soviet participant. As a result the lectures given by the former Prime Minister of Italy and President of the European Parliament Emilio Colombo and deputy General Secretary of Spain's ruling Socialist Workers' Party Alfonso Guerra and some other prominent politicians were attended by 10 to 15 students.

Said Marcelino Oreja: "A high level of lecturers and an almost complete absence of students whose professional quality left much to be desired..."

The events under way in the Soviet Union rin a way esemble the processes in the European Community – states give up some of their sovereignty in order to found a Community. In my opinion, the priority in the USSR is to recognize sovereign nations which will then converge their interests in the spheres of monetary policy, nuclear control, defence, communications, etc. These are two counter-movements which converge at a certain point.

N.T. Felipe Gonzalez has recently said the Soviet Union was a continent rather than a country. How do you see ways to harmonize the interests of over one hundred nations?

M.O. The events of the recent years demonstrate that we are vacillating between the two vectors: the first oriented at perpetuating variety and the other, at the progressive movement towards the supranational. States voluntarily decide to unite to carry out definite tasks. In this sense they destroy their own borders. They provide for their citizens' right to free travel and communication within the common geographical space, and the right to free traffic of goods, services and capital. But they will not disappear as states. Not only do they share their sovereignty, they also jointly strengthen their sovereignty. At the same time they delegate some of their functions to regions and autonomies. Regional and autonomous entities must be given more independence. That is how I understand the process of the construction of a common Europe.

It is necessary to simultaneously stimulate national distinctive features in culture, customs and traditions of various peoples inhabiting Europe. A unitary state may suppress the multiformity of nations and nationalities.

N.T. One theoretical question. We are still unable to decide what is capitalism and what is socialism. What is your opinion on this score?

M.O. No one needs either wild capitalism or disciplinary socialism. Pope John Paul II said recently that it was necessary to create a social free market economy that would prevent the appearance of marginal strata. However, a free market does not solve the problem of justice. This important auxiliary function must be assumed by the state. I would like to single out two main principles that apply both to the economic order and to European development: freedom and solidarity.

NT. As far as I understand, by solidarity you mean mutual moral and social responsibility of society and individuals. Considering the concept of solidarity in a broader context, do you think the West might come up with a new Marshall Plan for the USSR?

M.O. History never repeats itself. In the case of the Soviet Union what is needed is not assistance through credits, but help which will enable the USSR to reform itself. The treaty on cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Community is an important landmark reflecting the Community's will to cooperate with Moscow. Other countries should cooperate as well, of course, including the United States, Canada, and Japan. It is important to see the Soviet Union's rapprochement with the countries of free economy and pluralistic democracy. The rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the European Community is exceedingly important, in my opinion. Not only for economic reasons, but for political reasons as well, because this process demonstrates the will to coexist with other states without any damage to individuality and on the basis of commonly accepted principles.

It is necessary to find a way to establish constant cooperation which would go beyond the confines of regular credits and financial assistance. It is necessary to include the USSR in the European context and to invite it to participate in the work of the Council of Europe and the Parliamentary Assembly.

NT. Supposing that, say, in 1997, a social free market economy prevails in the USSR. Might it be the beginning of the two systems'convergence?

M.O. I am no advocate of political schemes and I do not believe in new institutions that can unite all countries. We must use the existing opportunities and structures. Before speaking of the convergence of systems, it is necessary to converge the ideas of democracy, freedom, political, cultural, economic, and social rights. This will mean a new world order.

The tremendous changes going on in the world challenge us. Europe must find a dignified answer to this challenge. The European Community rests on three whales – humanism, variety, and universalism. I see how various ideological trends can integrate these basic concepts into a foundation for European cooperation. This cooperation begins with respect for the individual, variety of nations, and nationalities. This makes Europe look at itself and the world and assume the burden of assisting other states.

No sooner had the scandal over the plot hatched by the Islamic party Al-Nahda in Tunisia quieted down than violent riots incited by the Islamic Salvation Front (ISF) broke out in Algeria. The trial of Al-Nahda militants who had burned alive two employees of a district committee of Tunisia's ruling Democratic Constitutional Alliance was not yet over when the trial of members of the fundamentalist underground organization Al-Djihad-Islam opened in Cairo. They are charged with murdering Dr. Rifaat el-Mahgoub, former Speaker of the Egyptian parliament. The investigation of the case of Islamic Salvation Front leaders Abbassi Madani and Ali Belhadj continues in Algeria.

The source of trouble was finally tracked down by the special services of Tunisia, Algeria, and Egypt. Acting jointly, they uncovered the "fundamentalist international." The centre was formed last spring by a decision of the Arab-Islamic conference held in Khartoum. The new organization was headed by Hassan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front of Sudan, who is known as the "grey cardinal" of that country's ruling military junta.

The "international" had the most success in Algeria, where the Islamic Salvation Front, which won the municipal elections last year, organized an indefinite national strike. As a result, President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria had to declare a state of emergency. The army resolutely defended the country's democratic institutions. ISF leaders Abbassi Madani and Ali Belhadj were thrown into prison.

The decision to choose Algeria as the springboard for attack was made by the "fundamentalist international" at its meeting in Zurich, which was attended by both Abbassi Madani and Rachid al-Gannouchi, the spiritual father of the Islamic party Al-Nahda.

The fate of Abbassi Madani is typical for the generation of fundamentalist leaders of the Maghreb who fought not only against colonialists but also against temporal authorities who came to power after the gaining of independence. Under the former and present regimes he spent more than 16 years in prison. Nevertheless, Madani was able to get a chair at Algiers University and was awarded a doctor's degree in London. All these years he continued to gather around him people of like mind from among the local clergy who preached fundamentalist views among the believers.

The investigation of the ISF's activity has just started in Algeria while the results of the investigation of the Al-Nahda case in Tunisia have already been made public, as has also the list of the fundamentalists' leaders.

Islamic fundamentalism on the rise

The Islamic fundamentalists of North Africa become increasingly aggressive. Hardly a week passes without the media reporting on their activity in the region stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea

Whom will faithful Muslims follow: Islamic fundamentalists or Soviet nationalists?

Photo from l' Express (France)

Tunisia's Interior Minister Abdallah KallelAccording to a teacher of the university's pointed out that Al-Nahda conspired notNational School of Engineering, policemen only to overthrow the existing regime butare bursting into lecture halls and carrying also to change the country's socio-out indiscriminate arrests and searches. economic structure and establish a theo-The fundamentalists, who have gone uncratic state, an "Islamic republic." The fun-derground, are planning new terrorist acts damentalists had penetrated into govern-at hotels and tourist complexes in Tunisia. ment institutions and formed secret Their spiritual father Rachid al-Gangroups there. A special department of Al-nouchi, who has been an emigrant for sev-Nahda conducted work in the army anderal years now, urges believers to make security forces. This was disclosed by onenew sacrifices for the victory of the "holy of the arrested conspirators, a captain ofwar." "Our movement needs hero-marthe Tunisian armed forces. He revealed thetyrs," he exhorts them In the video-cassetnames of 12 activists of this departmenttes secretly distributed in the country. who held the rank of major and higher The rise of fundamentalism is connected ranks. Their task was to direct army garri-with the war in the Persian Gulf. The massons after the H hour came. Active worksive blow of allied forces at Iraq brought was also conducted by the fundamen-freedom to Kuwait but deeply wounded talists' secret service. It was engaged inArab self-awareness. The Iraqi leader has the training of militants in the camps of Af-remained in power, but in his person a deghan mujahedins. feat was sustained by Arab nationalism,

The state security service has been act-which has traditionally had a secular ing energetically and successfully so far.character. When the Arab national idea retreats the vacuum is instantly filled by its main competitive force – the Islamic fundamentalist dogmatics, as the leading Tunisian publicist Abdel-Latif Furati once noted.

"Fundamentalism is a sort of emigration, though not from one country to another, but from the present into the past," Usamaa al-Baz, head of the Egyptian president's office, observed some time ago. "The reason for this emigration is an inability to find a place in present-day society."

The reasons which engendered the latest outburst of fundamentalism can hardly be removed in the near future. The present regimes in the region count on force which can restrain but not remove the fundamentalist danger.

Ivan Menshikov,
Novosti Information Agency
correspondent, exclusive for *New Times*
TUNIS

DOCUMENTARY

Captive in one's own country

Lev Razgon

The Cheka Operations Section, a kind of "NKVD within the NKVD" watched over the camp governors in addition to the prisoners and was obliged to report back to Moscow or closer at hand what was really taking place in the Gulag.

Below I comment on several such documents about which even Alexander Solzhenitsyn did not know...

Continued from Issue No.31/91.

The first document which was drawn up in the autumn of 1940 is addressed to Kobulov, Commissar of State Security Third Rank, chief of the NKVD's Main Economic Administration. He is the very same Kobulov whose meteoric career made him Beria's closest aide and deputy; he was notorious as most terrible butcher of this diabolical department and was subsequently shot with some dozen other immediate aides of his satanic boss.

In this report the Cheka Operations Section Chief of the Karaganda Corrective Labour Camp describes the said camp which is better known by its abbreviation of Karlag. This was one of the "gentler" camps as, firstly and mainly, it was not a logging establishment, nor a mining institution, nor a building site, but a huge farming camp with 252,662 head of sheep, cows, pigs and horses all told. However to imagine it allow me to quote from the report:

"Karlag occupies an area of 1,800,000 hectares. It extends 300 kilometres from north to south and 200 kilometres from east to west.

"In addition, outside are two more sections, of Akmolinsk which is 350 kilometres from the camp base and contains 2,323 prisoners and of Balkhash, which is 500 kilometres from the camp base and has 772 prisoners.

"Confined to the camp are a total of 34, 536 prisoners deployed in 22 sections and 159 points throughout, that are anywhere from five to 500 kilometres away from the camp base.

"Connections with all these divisions are maintained by earth roads, inaccessible for months on end during winter blizzards and the spring mud."

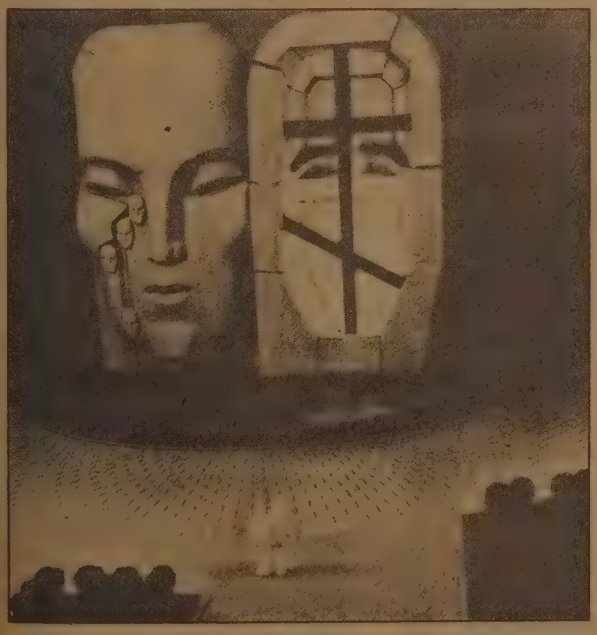
Karlag was indeed, not the worst of Gulag camps, even though the prisoners were fed "according to the ration" and existed in conditions far worse than the 250,000 odd head of cattle. Jobs were arduous, at times unbearable for prison-emaciated people not accustomed to manual labour. To care for the large number of stock it was necessary to have grazing grounds, sow, reap, ensilage, to clear away the dung and manure and perform a great many other tasks. On the other hand, it was possible to steal this and that, as for instance oats from horses, from which a kind of watery gruel could be cooked, or to drink of milk on the sly from the cows and sheep at the grazing grounds, or to filch a few spuds out in the field when planting and picking, or even before that. It was quite different from a logging camp where we could not even pick the berries on the ground, as the guards fired at anyone daring to step across the boundaries of the allotted space.

Yet let us imagine this "gentle" even privileged, as it were, camp. This is a far lonelier and more horrible place than the classical Australia or Cayenne to which Britain and France shipped their chaingangs in the more liberal 19th century. Karaganda is a sprawling wilderness, a semi-desert, with a sharply marked continental climate open to all four winds, with blazing heat during the brief summer and a killing frost in winter. The "black storms" of earth and sand, which the hurricane winds raked up in summer and autumn plus the blizzards isolated the various camp points from the nearest townships. Meanwhile the prisoners, men and women, were at the mercy of the completely undivided sway of dullards perverted by unlimited power. Who were these prisoners?

The aforementioned report furnishes the exact data. What is amazing is that even there in the Gulag there was the strict tabulation of prisoners according to offences. The data cited allow for reflection as to who were the prisoners listed as convicted "for counterrevolutionary crimes." There follows the next heading:

"PRISONER BREAKDOWN ACCORDING TO CRIMES COMMITED

"1. Trotskyites, Zinovievites and right-wingers – 89



The Sverdlovsk Memorial to the victims of state reprisals that Ernst Neizvestny has donated

"2. Traitors – 24
"3. Terrorists – 273
"4. Wreckers – 59
"5. Spies – 694
"6. Counterevolutionary saboteurs – 739
"7. Heads of counterrevolutionary organizations – 197
"8. For anti-Soviet agitation – 4,675
"9. For other counterrevolutionary offences – 7,215
"10. Former members of anti-Soviet political parties – 49
"11. Relatives of traitors – 5,166
"The total for counterrevolutionaries – 19,181
"12. Bandits, robbers and defectors – 1,378
"13. Convicted for general offences – 13,977
"Grand total: 34,536"

In 1940, the "traitors" were the Kremline élite

As was said Karlag was an ordinary type of Gulag camp. The prisoner breakdown furnishes a good notion of what the contingent was like in the other camps. There seemed to be not many Trotskyites, Zinovievites and right-wingers, only 89. But generally speaking, if you multiply these 89 by the total Gulag camps, it will add up to thousands upon thousands, yet still not that much, as most of them were shot, while those who landed up in the Gulag were only people whom the NKVD had failed to stick in any appropriate "organization."

The next category consists of traitors, but 24. How does this link up with the 5,166 relatives of traitors? And who are they? The war begins in only a year's time, and there are no defectors, prisoners of war, and the other hundreds of thousands thus classified. In 1940, the "traitors" were the killed-off top Party and government echelon. There are not very many of them compared with the number of relatives, as practically all were shot. Hence the 5,000 odd women in this category are the wives, mothers and daughters of the men shot. At first they were all confined to the Temnikovo camps in Mordovia and completely isolated, without any right to correspond. They had no idea of what had happened to their husbands, sons and fathers, or where were the children, even the tiniest tots who had been taken away from them. Only two years later were they dispersed amongst the ordinary camps, which for them was both shock and blessing, as they could now correspond and find something out about their relations.

What amazes in this tabulation is the number of terrorists – 273, and especially the number of spies 694. If only one camp and not the biggest at that had 700 spies, among its prisoners then how many "spies" could there be throughout the Gulag. Evidently, spying was a most common calling in those years! There was also a whole heap of "saboteurs," 739. Small wonder, when this one camp alone had 197 heads of counterrevolutionary organizations! They had to head some body, hadn't they?! But who? We come to the paragraph "Other counterrevolutionary offences." Which it is impossible to say! If not politicals, traitors, terrorists, spies or anti-Soviet agitators, what then did they actually do? And moreover, under somebody's leadership. Even the Cheka Operations Section could not conjure up any definition, though among them were more than 7,000, or 7,215 to be exact. It was easier to deal with the anti-Soviet agitators who in the Gulag were dubbed "joke-tellers" and of whom there were also quite a goodly number, 4,675. It is absolutely obvious that their "agitation" was not expressed in speeches at rallies or in printed proclamations, but mostly in the proved offence of telling a joke in the smoking room or W.C. to fellow workers, among whom was the by no means idling informant.

However let us analyze the table down to its very end. We see that the Karlag had 19,181 counterrevolutionaries. Who were the other 15,355? Those who unlike the "counterrevolutionaries" were termed the "socially affiliated." There were but two categories, one of bandits, robbers and defecters, numbering 1,378 the other, numbering 13,977 condemned for general crimes.

We will never know what actually got prisoners to be classified as robbers and bandits or why they were complemented by the absolutely mysterious category of "defectors." From where and to where did they defect? True, my experience suggests that it might be because of the crime denoted as "unlawful crossing of the frontier." After all, there were hundreds of kilometres of undesignated frontiers. Elsewhere I've mentioned the Chinese kitchen gardeners, who crossed over from Manchuria in the spring and went back home in autumn. They did that for decades until in 1937 they were rounded up and shipped off to Ustvymlag camp, where they all died during the

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very first winter. Or take those divided families, whose members crossed the Iranian and Turkish frontiers to visit relatives. They also merited well deserved penalties and no doubt they comprise the mysterious category of "defectors."

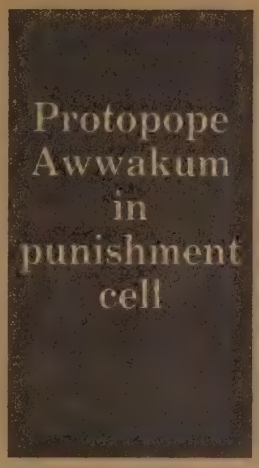
Left are another almost 14,000 condemned for "general crimes." We can only conjecture what offences they actually committed. Of course, there were murderers, thieves, rapers and hoods among them. But most had been sentenced wholesale by the extrajudicial "troika" under the article specifying socially harmful elements. This category included old lags from the celebrated White Sea Canal and Dmitlag camps, many of whom had been paroled, even decorated with honour certificates, medals, if not orders, for their "shockwork." However, in 1937 the Chief Arbiter of Destinies believed it superfluous to have old lags trotting around free and so ordered them to be rounded up and sent where they would work not for themselves and their families, but for the state. I draw this conclusion because in our Ustvymlag the bulk of the "general offenders" were sentenced according to the Article for socially harmful elements.

To complete our analysis of this rare document one must cite another tabulation of the breakdown of the Karlag's "counterrevolutionary" prisoners according to their pasts.

And so:

1. Former landed proprietors, factory owners, and large shopkeepers – 327
2. Kulaks – 2,069
3. Tsarist army officers – 41
4. Whiteguard officers – 37
5. Former police, gendarme and secret police officers and agents – 21
6. Priests and other clericals – 355

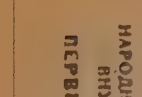
It is absolutely obvious that these people were confined to the Karlag for their past. One might feel amazed that after all the pogroms, detentions and deportations, that started in the late 1920s, there were in just one Gulad camp alone in 1940 upwards of 300 erstwhile landed proprietors and factory owners. True, one does not know what "big shopkeepers" mean. Most likely they opened up a store during the brief NEP period, envisaging profits, but not their current fate.



Protopope Awwakum in punishment cell

Among all these "quondams" the eye is drawn to the two categories of "kulaks" and "priests and other clericals." Whence in 1940 in just one camp more than 2,000 kulaks? After all, more than ten years had passed since the steamroller of "collectivization" had "bulldozed" the Russian peasantry. Indeed, all counted kulaks and exiled from Russia to Siberia's impenetrable taiga were there, either dead or perhaps still barely alive. So whence these new "kulaks"? I am again compelled to compare the Karlag with the Ustvymlag to which I was confined. The bulk of the "counterrevolutionaries" was comprised not of former government and party workers, teachers, writers, factory workers and engineers, but of peasants, the most ordinary peasants straight from the village, who were put through the Gulag mincer for one imprudent word against collective farm of other chiefs or simply beause they had incurred the displeasure of somebody who knew how to put them away. Yet with us they were classified not as collective farmers, even not as peasants, but as kulaks. I think the Karlag kulaks were of similar origin.

What also was staggering was the category of 355 priests and other clericals. Moreover, in just one camp! Was this many or not? In early 1929 Soviet Russia had 50,000 functioning churches, where 350,000 "white clergy" officiated. These 350,000 were moved down starting in 1929, the year of the "Great Turn." It is to be regretted that statistics for the number of repressed priests has not been published either by the KGB or by the heads of today's Russian Orthodox Church which now loyally supports the authorities. By the tie when the erstwhile seminary student who had become not priest, but a harsh dictator, concluded a concord with the Church there were still rather many priests held in the camps. They all were released in 1943 but their place was soon taken by a vast number of what might be termed "informal" believers, notably Baptists, Evangelists, Adventists, Jehovah Witnesses, and others whose faiths ran against the established rules. One may say without exaggeration that they embraced jail, Gulag and often death, exclusively out of their beliefs. They were zealots and at my camp when watching all the "Sabbathites" being locked up in the punishment block on

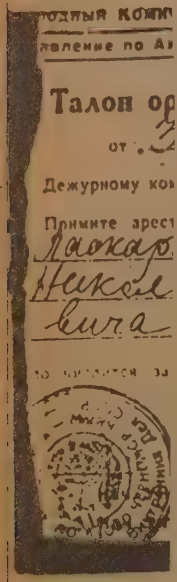


Saturdays, as their faith forbade them to work on a Sabbath, what I really saw were people of the same calibre as the one-time fanatic, Protopope Avvakum. Here I invest the term "believers" with fatal meaning.

To wind up the edifying statistics of just one Gulag camp, a few words now about one more category, that of foreign subjects of whom there were 364 in the Karlag. These were chiefly from Eastern states, with whom we stood on short ceremony. Thus there were 216 Iranians, 75 Afghans, and 42 Chinese. True there was not a single Westerner except for three Germans, which was something of a puzzle. Between 1937 and 1939 Germans comprised most of the foreigners imprisoned in the Gulag. Nearly all had worked for the Comintern, the Communist International, and were at any rate Communist Party members. In the times of Stalin's romance with Hitler they were handed over to the Gestapo and shipped off to Germany's death camps. How and why the three Karlag Germans were that "lucky," I really do not know.

All Comintern Germans were handed over to the Gestapo

And so, we have analyzed, be it even superficially, what just one camp, one of the islands of the boundless Gulag Archipelago was like. We know how many prisoners there were there. But how did they live? What were living and working conditions like in this "most fortunate" camp during "a most fortunate chapter" of Soviet history? No war was on, there was no hunger and shops stocked so much food that that would appear abundance to today's generation. How did all this tell on the prisoners? Are we again to address ourselves to reminiscences? For however precious the paramount sources of material for Solzhenitzin's Gulag Archipelago, they are all more or less biassed. One would have been "luckier," another less so, as there were no and could not be absolutely identical conditions in this sprawling nightmarish empire. If we only had the documents, if we could only find a dossier in some cranny of the archives which would contain the authentic documents! Yet chance, without which nothing good is ever achieved, has yielded one more document about the Gulag, one that can be taken on trust as it was penned by those self-same bosses who ruled over the prisoner's life and death, and is dated for that very same prewar time.



We have before us an "Act" drawn up February 3, 1941. It reads:

"A commission, chaired by Comrade Usparkh, chief, Second Division, NKVD Karlag Administration and consisting of Comrade Sorokin, deputy chief, Agricultural Division, Comrade Artemyev camp guards chief of staff and Comrade Polovikov, building department engineer, has, proceeding from Order No.45 of the chief of the NKVD Karlag Administration, surveyed camp points engaged in construction of the Djartass dam to elucidate the causes of the delayed completion of construction..."

This is not some unique document, as everywhere, not only in Gulag camps, construction lagged and plans were not fulfilled. To secure fulfilment, orders were issued, commissions appointed, acts drawn up, and conclusions made...

The Act in question is a survey of a camp point, one of the Karlag's 22 sections and 159 points. This camp point was not very large having but 1,162 prisoners, of whom 603 were males and 559 females. Work was not easy, as the building of a dam, apparently for irrigation purposes requires far more arduous labour than cattle grazing or kitchen gardening.

The chief thing noted is that the guarding of the camp is up to the mark, that there is the required number of riflemen, plus 12 guard dogs and 2 tracker dogs. It is noted with gratification that the camp guard barracks are satisfactory, that meals are served without a hitch and that there is enough fuel.

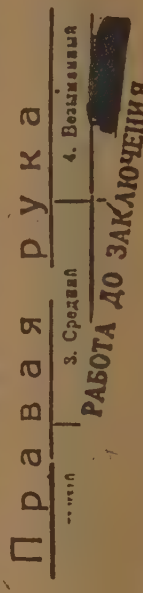
Here now is what this Act impartially and coolly says when describing the "living conditions of the prisoners":

"In all huts and dugouts temperatures are low, it is damp, there is not enough air and light, there have been cases when there has been no fuel for two and three days running, prisoners do not undress, sleep on bunks without bedding and have no regular bathing, which has entailed contamination with lice. No soap has been issued to the prisoners in January and February. The airing hut is not properly equipped and is badly heated. Clothing deposited for drying does not dry out overnight. It is impossible to dry clothing in the huts because of the low temperatures. There are no airing facilities at all in the other sections.

"Prisoners employed on snow detention return to their huts in soaked clothing and report for work next morning in this damp clothing.

"Food is issued according to a reduced ration of two meals a day with 12 hours in between. Between 40 and 45 percent of the prisoners have no proper clothing; the available clothing is ragged and stands in need of repair. This is not done as there is no material with which to effect repair. There are cases when some prisoners whom the doctor frees are then undressed and have their clothes handed over to other prisoners."

Let us interrupt this litany. As I peruse this drily



worded, boring Act compiled by the camp screws, I catch my breath, because I can DISTINCTLY SEE what took place in the winter of early 1941 at a section in a camp far from me. The late writer Sergei Yermolinsky, who had his taste of the Gulag, would say whenever told something about prison that he had seen it lifesize. So what I want to say is that I myself HAVE SEEN LIFESIZE what is related in the quoted document! In winter a man stumbling through the snow returns from work soaked through. He has only one way to dry his clothes which is to sleep in them, hugging his bunk mate and thus drying the clothes by the small amount of body heat left. To go out to work again in damp clothing spells sure death, as in the frost and wind, the prisoner will find himself enclosed in an armour of ice, while there is nothing to resist the all-pervasive cold. All the prisoners are ragged and shoeless, as what they wear are just bundles of rags. The Karlag camp point has 559 females each of whom could do needle work. However they are forbidden to have needles at this "instrument" is classified as "a pointed, cutting item." It is impossible to draw threads out of the remnants of dress while there is not a single piece of material that could be used as a patch.

"Penalty ration" consisted of 200 grammes of bread

Moreover, the sick prisoners, whom the doctor has freed from work, are told to undress and their clothes are given to those who are convoyed out to work. This is not done voluntarily, out of love for one's neighbour, or out of concern for plan fulfillment. The clothing is ripped off by the dispatchers, those running dogs of the camp bosses, who are selected from among the underworld criminals. In the upshot the man "freed from work" stays behind in a cold, unheated hut in nothing but filthy lice-ridden underclothes, quivering on a bare bunk, as his outer garments which he always used to cover himself with have been taken away.

But back to the "Act." One heading "Prisoner feeding" particularly attracts. We learn that as of January 1, 1941, the prisoner ration has been reduced. Why so? Could this be by way of preparation for the future fighting, for the absence of which Stalin and his gang of cutthroats are now accused by historians and journalists? We can only guess. At any rate the "Act" impartially notes:

"Given the previous rationing it was possible to provide three meals by delivering lunch to the work place, but now due to reduced rationing there are but two meals a day, with breakfast at 7 a.m. and dinner at 7 p.m. This interval from 7 a.m. till 7 p.m. affects labour productivity and results in a lower quota with a transfer made to reduced victualling. It should be noted that the fat ration has also been halved."

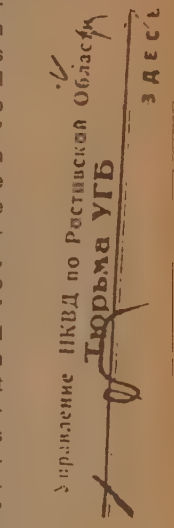
Allow me now to comment. Breakfast consisted of 400 grammes of watery bread and a bowl of a very thin soup, called "balanda" by camp and prison inmates, which implies a bowl of hot water with a few cabbage leaves and turnip lumps, and now and again fish bones floating in it. The "fat" is as a rule a thimbleful of vegetable oil of unknown origin sprinkled into the bowl. Incidentally, such "fat" was rare and quite tentative even before the ration was halved, while later it was simply reduced to a line in the ledger. After 12 hours consisting of a ten-hour workday plus two hours there and back, came dinner. The full meal for the prisoner who fulfilled the quota was again a bowl of "balanda" plus a second course consisting of several spoonfuls of gruel made from grits. The main thing here was the 400-gramme bread ration. But as the "Act" sadly reports, the reduced ration "affects laproductivity" and in the upshot "requires transferring to a reduced victualling." Camp inmates called this the "penalty ration"; it consisted of 200 grammes of bread and no "second" course. In such circumstances, it was virtually impossible to fulfil the quota so as to get the full ration, even with the help of "tufta" padding. This created a vicious circle, entailing the inevitable growth of the number of prisoners receiving the penalty ration. Hence the "Act" melancholically observes:

"From data afforded as to the use of the work force in January and February of 1941, it follows that the work force was employed only 50 percent which does not include the day of gale-force blizzards, when the work force was not dispatched to work."

So how did they live, the unclothed and hungry in unheated huts and dugouts? They just died. While those who survived did so by chance by stealing and cheating. The "Act" regretfully indicates:

"No systematic hut-by-hut frisking of prisoners is conducted. There are no punishment blocks anywhere and it is absolutely impossible to isolate offenders due to which many, even grave, offenders go unpunished... Prisoners steal the chaff, intended for feeding draught cattle and use it to make pancakes for personal use."

That "personal use" is always something forbidden. It is persecuted as suspicious even when the person is free, while it is counted criminal in the Gulag.



A gypsy ballad

Gypsies, like Jews, are running to Germany. Actually, they're making a mistake returning there where so many of their kind were murdered. The people are living for today, but today a disappointed and upset Eastern Europe is a bad place for gypsies.

Since that time almost a millennium ago when they left northern India, preserving in their language quite a few words from Sanskrit, the gypsies unceasingly wandered around Europe in search of a place where they would be welcome. In peaceful times the Europeans treated the gypsy musicians and skilful artisans with forbearance. In hard times the crowds in their hysterical state drove away the "swindlers."

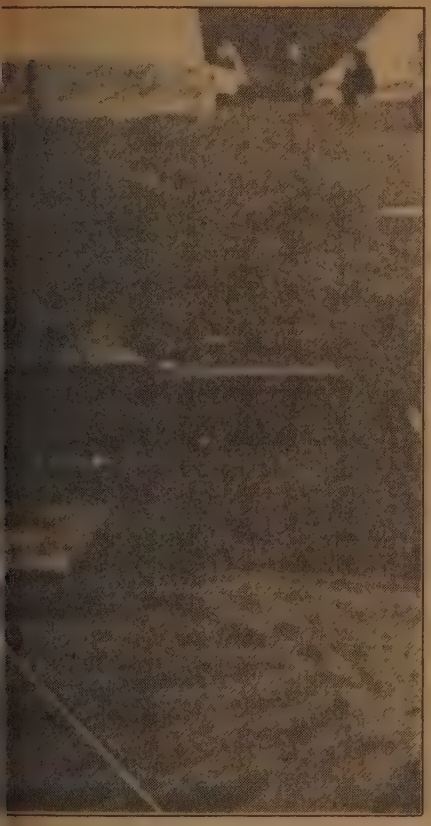
"Horse stealers, thieves, profiteers... They'll do anything." They are alien. Centuries have passed and they have no place of their own. Not anywhere?

A special card file

In 1936 Dr. Robert Ritter became the new head of the research division of race-hygienic problems of the Imperial Department of Public Health. He totally devoted himself to the study of asocial elements, i.e., the gypsies. With the help of his colleagues he set about it by compiling up a special card index. By 1944 there were 23,822 names in the card index. Dr. Ritter thought that gypsies were the "product of mixed marriages, mostly with thieves and criminals which lead to the creation of a gypsy thieves lumpen proletariat." The conclusion: "since we have established that the gypsies have always been primitive and that their feeblemindedness makes them unfit for society, they should be sent to large labour camps."

In Berlin more radical ways of handling the gypsy problem were discussed. For instance, putting them on a boat, heading it out into the ocean and sinking it. Later, they contented themselves with the already proven method of sending them to Oswiecim.

Why did the state machine of the Third Reich methodically annihilate the gypsies? On the everyday level the answer is familiar. The darkhaired olive-skinned people always looked suspicious to the respectable citizens. And the gypsies not only spoke a different language and dressed peculiarly, but also lived apart, forever wandering and didn't go to church or send their children to school. And this refusal to be **like all the rest** irritated those around them most. "A gypsy will do anything... They abduct small children...". Upon seeing a gypsy, mothers grabbed their children and shut



the doors. Men meanly remarked: "Where are the police? Why haven't they put all these gypsies in prison yet?"

But this could not serve as the reason to drive them out and to kill them. Those with high scientific degrees and titles found a reason.

Until quite recently the card catalogue of 20,000 gypsies that were killed was still kept at the anthropological Institute of the Tubingen University. Sixteen-meter shelves were stacked with files containing measurements, photographs, hand and feet prints as well as drawings and tables, and lists of the family members and distant relatives. There were statements by race-hygienic division experts that substituted court sentences. The verdict of "capital punishment" was pronounced not by judges, but by biologists, who having studied the case always came to the conclusion: the person in question was not only worthless to society but even dangerous to it.

Biologists, armed with the ideology of national socialism, proceeded from the understanding that races are divided into superior and inferior. And the former must be protected from the latter. The presence in the country of representatives of other races was regarded as a source of constant danger which must be somehow removed. It was necessary "to heal the 'body' of the people from the biological and hereditary point of view;" the other races were like a fatal tumor and must be cut out. Therefore, the sick, feebleminded and criminal-recidivists were killed or sterilized: bad diseases as well as committing a crime were considered hereditary.

The operation to cure the German people resulted in the annihilation of 600,000 gypsies.

On December 16, 1938, Reichsfuhrer of the SS Himmler ordered all persons leading a gypsy mode of life be registered at the police department and examined for signs of race.

Carrying out the instructions of his chief, head of the Imperial security service Heydrich held a meeting in September 1939 at which it was decided to put all gypsies remaining on German territory in concentration camps in Poland. The person responsible for making "the final decision on the Jewish question," Eichmann, suggested adding a couple cars with gypsies to each train with Jews being sent to concentration camps. But the imperial railroads were overloaded and the security service had to cram the gypsies into local concentration camps and even create new ones.

On July 5, 1940, the SS Sturmbannfuhrer and adviser to the Salzburg criminal police reported: "The chief of security police and security service (SD) has sanctioned the transfer of the gypsies from Ostmark (after the Anschluss Austria even lost its own name – **L.M.**). In order to best carry out the orders I intend to gather all gypsies in a single camp in Salzburg, otherwise we may miss a good opportunity to get rid of them in the forseeable future."

The gypsies driven here built the camp themselves on a marshy meadow of the Salzburg suburb Maxglan. They put up barracks for the guards, two lookout towers, stretched the barbed wire around the camp...

The party loves movies

Once the famous actress, and no less famous as a director, Leni Riefenstahl showed up at the camp. She staged films and played in them. That year she decided to make a movie of a d'Albert opera with a romantic plot. A beautiful ballerina finds herself at the mercy of a cruel ruler who oppresses the local peasants. Leni herself plays the dancer. But who would play the Spanish peasants, the count, the servants? Film makers can solve any problem using make up, costumes and stage sets. Ordinary people, not ethnographers would be watching the film. But Leni Riefenstahl would never have been successful if she had gone down the beaten path. She decided gypsies would play the Spaniards.

Such mass scenes would have cost a producer in any country a lot of money: a great number of gypsies had to be gathered, be persuaded to take part in the film and come to the filming site, and be paid well. But not Leni Riefenstahl. All doors in the Third Reich were open to her. After the films about the party congress *A Triump of Will* and about the 1936 Olympics in Berlin she was never refused anything. The party highly valued artists guided by the ideals of party and national spirit in their work. Riefenstahl started shooting the film in 1940 and only finished several years later. The bloody war with Russia had begun but the party didn't forget Riefenstahl.

On the list of war works for 1942 was the feature film *The Lowland* to be produced by Riefenstahl "on orders from the fuehrer and backed by the Imperial Ministry of Enlightement and Propaganda."

The annihilation of the gypsies stopped while the film was being made. SS officers accompanied Leni Riefenstahl at the camp in Maxglan. All the gypsies were lined up and Leni Riefenstahl picked the extras she needed.

The filming and splicing of the film lasted all through the war. Riefenstahl strove for artistic perfection and again and again explained to the gypsies how to depict the happy life of the Spanish peasants. One gypsy lad who had been filmed a lot dared to say to her: "Our family had a good reputation. None of us have been convicted. Maybe you could help us or even have them free us." Leni Riefenstahl thinking only about the film said: "Of course I'll see if your family can be set free, or at least sent to Berlin."

The gypsies who had only a small part were sent back to the camp. In May 1943 Eichmann's advice was finally followed and the camp at Maxglan was closed and the gypsies sent to Oswiecim.

"There's a special place in my heart for gypsies," Leni Riefenstahl would say later pleased with her film. "I've always given them preference. God is my

witness." There are better witnesses. Whole gypsy families were sent to Oswiecim, as they had been to the filming site: of those who had been taking part in the film *The Lowland* almost no one remained among the living.

The gypsy lad from a whole family that had become actors who had one time turned to the director remained among the living. He told many years after the war was over that all who had been in Riefenstahl's film hoped to be saved, but in vain. Leni Riefenstahl was not just a producer, but a typical example of the German national consciousness.

The alarm sounds

After World War II the life of the gypsies ought to have changed. Of the 6 million European gypsies two thirds of them live in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans. The socialist regimes promised the gypsies equal rights with other ethnic groups. But they were to settle down, change their way of life and "become like everyone else." However, the gypsies amazingly manage to avoid assimilation and preserve their national identity. They want to be the way they are.

But for others they remained alien. Wherever they lived – in Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, the USSR – nothing was done to help people understand them. The women in the colourful dresses selling homemade lipstick and chewing gum on the street do not represent all of them. But mass consciousness only acknowledges gypsies in two social roles: as singers and profiteers.

In our multinational country there have never been any courses in schools even slightly acquanting the children with the traditions, customs and way of thinking of ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. And the stereotypes of national enmity are imprinted from childhood. And people willingly thrill to Gypsy melodies only to later drive the gypsies out of **their** city.

As before, the gypsies are discriminated against in getting jobs and housing all over Europe. The police look on each gypsy as a potential criminal though research conducted recently by German scholars has proven that the number of criminals among gypsies is far less than among Germans. But, unfortunately, only a few know about what the scholars have written; the rest continue to see the gypsy as a suspicious individual given to robbery and deceit.

In Romania a conflict between a gypsy and a Romanian as a rule ends in a pogrom of the gypsies. Thousands of people armed with pikes and axes rush into the gypsy neighborhoods, burn their homes and drive them out.

Young Hungarian fascists reconnoitred the city of Eger for several weeks in order to "clean the vicinity of gypsies."

The age-old prejudices have multiplied in the current economic straits. Born traders, the gypsies were among the first to take advantage of the new opportunities and appeared on the streets selling odds and ends. People living on the salaries and embittered by the rise in prices and those getting rich quick, saw them as the embodiment of the new evil – as profiteers and parasites living off the honest worker.

Last year after one of the many fights the gypsies began to be driven out of Yaroslavl. One of the local Soviets in the Yaroslavl region raised ethnic discrimination to the level of the law: houses were forbidden to be sold to gypsies. Last July there was a gypsy pogrom in Alapayevsk (Sverdlovsk region). Again after a fight. And again a frenzy seized the whole town: revenge the gypsies! Punish them! Drive them out of our villages and towns!

The gypsies could hardly count on the support of the authorities. A Moscow newspaper indifferently stated that in a week's time 160 gypsies have been evicted from the capital for "not having registration and arrested for begging in underground passes on the Arbat." Their treatment by the authorities was no better than that by the mob. The lack of registration is not a valid argument. The Constitution Committee admitted that registration as such violated the rights and freedom on the individual. And the punishment for begging is not included in criminal law. No one can keep a person from asking for charity. But they don't love gypsies. And the authorities know that no one will step in for a gypsy.

In the police reports you can find mention of the crimes committed by gypsies. But what has belonging to an ethnic group got to do with crime? Or do our law enforcement agencies really think that nationality determines the genetic predisposition to commit crimes? If that's so a heightening of the anti-gypsy mood and pogroms could well be the precurser of tragic events. Recurrence of historical events seems ominous.

Leonid Mlechin

Photo from Zeit (Germany)

Marina Rumshiskaya and Alexander Cherkasov,
a member of the Memorial society

Why did the police take an interest in the poet? Some Maya Khuseynova, a resident of Chardzhou, testified that citizen Nurmuradov abused her confidence and swindled 65,000 rubles out of her.

In August of 1989 criminal proceedings were instituted in Chardzhou on the case of the disappearance of 107,000 rubles from the home of Dzhabrail Khuseynov. Khuseynov suspected that his wife Maya might have been involved and informed the police about his suspicions. When interrogated, Maya Khuseynova admitted that she had taken the money in August 1989 and given it to a woman named Tazegul in the town of Tashauz. According to Maya Khuseynova, the money was intended for the development of drug trade. Some time later a Manaf Dzhafarov replaced the obscure Tazegul in the interrogation protocols. The investigation failed to ascertain whether Tazegul and Dzhafarov were real or imaginary figures.

In October of 1990 Maya Khuseynova unexpectedly changed her testimony and said the money had been taken by Shiraly Nurmuradov. The investigators got down to business with renewed vigour and on November 30 the city court of Chardzhou sentenced citizen Nurmuradov to seven years of imprisonment for swindling. Hardly had the ink on the Nurmuradov verdict dried, than the Khuseynovs sent a telegram to the Supreme Court of the republic and the republican procuracy in which they withdrew all claims against Nurmuradov.

Does this mean that the accused never took the 65,000? The case was sent for further examination and the regional court annulled the sentence.

The investigation doesn't stop, however. The investigators found a nine-name list in Nurmuradov's pocketbook giving the names of people from whom the suspect had borrowed money. Debts cases are a prerogative of the civil law. The court steps in to make the debtor pay if the creditors so demand. In the case with Nurmuradov the investigators initiated criminal proceedings without any demand from the creditors.

"I'll get you behind bars"

We were told that on August 15, 1990, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenia and the then chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, Saparmurad Niyazov, met with prominent intellectuals at the republican

A poet and the czar?

On October 1 of last year Turkmen poet and playwright Shiraly Nurmuradov, member of the Akzyberlik Society, was arrested on a train as he was heading for a Baltic human rights conference. He was put in the preliminary detention prison in the city of Chardzhou and officially charged with swindling

Academy of Sciences. At the meeting the republican leader shared his impressions about the 28th congress of the CPSU. He noticed Nurmuradov, the author of several anti-Niyazov verses which circulated in Turkmenia on tape: "I got a recording of your verses yesterday. I sent them to the procuracy. One day I will have you behind bars." Shiraly was arrested six weeks later.

Some time ago the pro-democracy forces of Turkmenia united to form the Akzyberlik movement. The movement's members, artists, sculptors, writers, engineers cannot remain indifferent to the future of their country. Nurmuradov became a Board member and the cashier of the movement.

Akzyberlik sought a meeting with the republican leadership. Niyazov promised to talk to them, but later changed his mind. Akzyberlik members applied for official registration of their movement, but were refused. According to the new law, two thirds of the Supreme Soviet of the republic must vote for registration. This means that the movement will never be registered.

The processes that go on in Turkmenia cause a great amount of concern in the *Memorial* Society. The author of freedom-loving verses, Shiraly Nurmuradov, is on trial. Other members of Akzyberlik are getting fined and admistratively repressed.

According to a recent decree President Niyazov received the exclusive right to appoint judges. The parliament is considering the law on the republican police force which will allow the police to detain people for up to twenty days without a warrant.

Aunt Gycha in the courtroom

The prosecution's speech at the trial reminded one of the not so remote trials of dissidents. The prosecutor seemed not to notice that none of the nine episodes in which Nurmuradov was incriminated found confirmation in the courtroom.

'One of the "victims", Gycha Khodzhanazarova, Shiraly's aunt, had given him 500 rubles on his wedding day. Shiraly decided to return the money in violation of the tradition. He returned only 320 rubles, while the remaining 180 was listed in his pocketbook as a debt. Investigator Sultanov added 180 to 500 and included the sum in the indictment. As he talked to Khodzhanazarova at the hospital, the investigator tried to convince her that she would help her nephew if she endorsed the investigation's version. The aunt was an illiterarte woman. Sultanov must be given credit for his not signing the interrogation protocol himself: instead he asked a hospital nurse who was not present at the interrogation to sign the protocol for Gycha. When in the courtroom, Aunt Gycha refused to identifly herself as a victim.

A poet can saddle an elephant, but he is helpless before state power

Antother false victim, Amam Usayev, told the court that he had known Shiraly for twenty five years, they were on quite confidential terms and he had no doubt that Shiraly would return the money. The court was not so sure, though. This episode was not removed from the indictment, although by the time of the trial the debt had already been paid by Shiraly's wife... Other episodes were no more convincing. Shiraly's friends paid all the debts.

The trial was conducted in a strange atmosphere. The courtroom was filled with policemen. A rapist was tried in another courtroom and it was not as heavily guarded. On the first day of the trial a group of Memoral observers was stopped by a bunch of strangers. They tied the hands of one of us and pushed him into the car. The woman was treated better. The occupants of a spacious room at the Chardzhow police HQ where the members of the anti-mafia squad took us did not bother to refrain from hurling obsenities at us. We were advised to keep clear of the whole business and leave the town. The head of the anti-mafia department, Yakub Nurov predicted our future like a pythia in a private conversation. He said to one of us that his brains would be smashed across the wall and promised a load of bricks on the head of another colleague.

Shiraly's lawyer, Shakhberdyev, was stopped by the anti-mafia squad headed by Nurov when he was on his way home. Despite the official permission to record the court proceedings, the police confiscated his tape recorder, video and audio cassettes. They did not bother to make a protocol.

At the next sitting of the court the lawyer complained about the police action and the judge declared the sitting adjourned. On the same day the lawyer and some unwanted guests of the trial were once again abused by the police. Lawyer Shakhberdyev, *Moscow News* correspondent Mamed Sakhatov and several friends of Shiraly were taken to the Chardzhou police HQ and detained there.

... Shiraly Nurmuradov, who has a weak heart, spent nine months in the preliminary detention cell where the temperature sometimes reached 45 degrees Centigrade. He was taken to the court room handcuffed. Finally he was sentenced to three years in a labour camp.

CHARDZHOU–MOSCOW

The mystery of plane number 256

Marshal Lin Biao, the Chinese Minister of Defence and Mao Zedong's heir apparent, disappeared in China in September of 1971. Just two years later, at the Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, did the first official explanation of his sudden disappearance appear. After eight years, during the trial of the "Gang of Four," the story finally acquired more details and took on a more completed appearance. Two decades later this mysterious event still raises many questions...

Good news

At 2:00 pm Beijing time on September 14, 1971, the Premier of the State Council of China, Zhou Enlai, received some urgent information. From the text of the code of Xu Wenyi, who was the Chinese Ambassador to Mongolia at the time, it was clear that during the night of September 13 the Trident airplace number 256 crashed in Mongolia in the vicinity of the city of Underkhan and all nine passengers (eight men and one woman) were killed. After hearing this news, the Chinese Premier exclaimed in delight, "Ah! A fatal crash! A fatal crash!" He then hurried to Mao Zedong to give the "Great Helmsman" the good news.

The Ambassador's report said nothing concrete about who crashed in the Mongolian steppe. Only the following day did Chinese representatives leave for the site of the crash. The bodies were so badly burned that their identification took some time. Nevertheless, Chinese documents show that Zhou Enlai had no doubt that his sworn enemy Lin Biao, his wife Ye Qun (also a member of the Politburo), their son Lin Liguo (one of the heads of the Chinese Air Force), the "heir's" private chauffeur, and five other members of their team were killed near Underkhan.

A Chinese whodunit

Official Chinese documents explain that Lin Biao was planning a counterrevolutionary coup. In August of 1970, at the Lushan plenum of the Chinese Central Committee, Lin Biao tried to re-establish himself as the head of the government with the support of Chen Boda, one of the ideologists of the "Cultural Revolution". Since the removal of Liu Shaoqi the position had been empty. However, Mao Zedong discovered the plans of his "heir"...

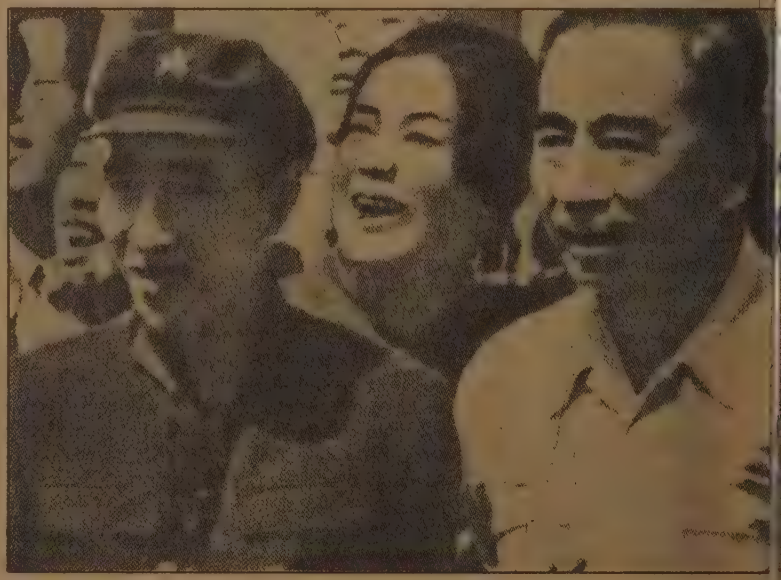
After this Lin Biao decided that he could only seize power with the help of a military coup. He entrusted his son, Lin Liguo, with the organization of the coup.

In March of 1971, the conspirators prepared a secret plan to overthrow the government under the code name "Theses of the Project 571." This number wasn't randomly selected – in Chinese it sounds just like the word for "armed revolt." In the plan, Mao Zedong was referred to as "B-52" and characterized as "the most predominent feudal despot in the history of China". The conspirators' plan counted on Moscow's support in the event of success. (It was no coincidence that after the disappearance of Lin Biao a noisy anti-Soviet campaign was launched.)

The Lin Biao case: a crash or a murder?

The Project 571 included a numerous options: from "surrounding" – the residence of Chinese leadership, Zhongnanhai, to the use of poison gases, biological weapons, bombs, arranging a car accident, murders, and kidnappings. They finally chose to attempt to blow up the train that Mao was supposed to ride. Unfortunately for them, a "heroine" had infiltrated the conspirators' camp. This was Lin Doudou, the daughter of the Minister of Defence (she would one day pay for her "dedication to the Party" with her life). She informed the appropriate bodies of the impending doom. As a result, Zhou Enlai found out the conspirators' plan. He changed the date of the Chairman's trip, and Mao passed through the designated place earlier than the time chosen for the explosion.

On the night of September 11 the partners-in-crime, resting at the Beidaihe spa near Shanghai, awaited the telephone call that would inform them of the outcome of the plot. Finally the telephone rang and an anonymous person related the bitter news: Mao was alive and had already passed



Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai: the victim and the butcher?

through Shanghai. The plot had failed. Ye Qun in tears began to pack his belongings, preparing to flee the country (the documents also gave a list of the articles that the spouses had packed for the trip. Particular emphasis was given to the Russian-Chinese dictonary taken by Ye Qun.) Lin Biao made the decision to flee on the Trident, which was at his disposal as Minister of Defence. Once at the airport it became clear that the plane was not prepared for flight. But the conspirators had no other option: the plane took off with low fuel reserves and headed north. Over the Mongolian steppe the fuel ran out, the plane crashed, and all the passengers were killed. That is the official version of the death of Lin Biao.

It is clear from the documents that Zhou Enlai knew of the conspirators' every step. All information concerning the actions of the "second-in-command" in the country was reported to him and not to Mao Zedong. Zhou Enlai personally gives commands to all services about how to act and inform Mao Zedong. This automatically brings up the question: who was leading the country – Mao Zedong or Zhou Enlai? After recieving the information that Lin Biao had hijacked a plane and flown north, the Premier gave the order to "quickly close all the country's airports, stop all flights, and use all available radars for the observation of Chinese airspace."

Quickly the conspirators' plane was detected and air controllers determined its course. This information was reported again to Zhou Enlai. He then ordered that the pilot of the stray plane be instructed to fly back.

The pilot did not respond, however, and continued on course. The Minister of Defense, second-in-command of the Party and the government, was fleeing from China to China's number one enemy. What should they do: let him escape? Zhou Enlai allowed the plane to enter Mongolian airspace: it was no longer possible to shoot it down. Only after that did he go to Mao Zedong in Zhongnanhai to tell him what had taken place. After listening to Zhou's report, Mao simply said: "It's not possible to intercept it, and it doesn't make sense to shoot it down. The Heaven wants rain, and Mom wants to get married. It's the kind of situation that you can't do anything about. Let him leave. If we shoot him down, what will our people say?" Mao's philosophical response doesn't quite mesh with those aggressive, at times even cruel actions that he had taken throughout the course of his political career. A mystery? There are many similar mysteries in "The Case of Lin Biao." It seems that the only reliable fact in the official Chinese version is that the Trident crashed in the Mongolian steppe...

He took the condoms, but forgot about the fuel...

Could Lin Biao really take such a risky course? All things aside, he would need to have a particular type of character. The Minister of Defence was always a good campaigner, a conscientious worker, never showed himself, and always stayed in the shadow of his boss. In this respect, it is hard to compare him to Deng Xiaoping, the "man who drew fire on himself" and suffered for his convictions; or to Lin Biao's predecessor, the rebellious Marshal Peng Dehuai who during the period of the "Great Leap" wasn't afraid to bid defiance to Mao Zedong and was punished for it. This small, pale, skinny man with his perpetual cap covering his high temples was suitable for the "Red Sun".

Lin Biao was born in 1907 into a bourgeois family. He received a military education in Wampu, the famous Kuomintang school. He was promoted to captain during the Northern Expedition, which Sun Yatsen led against the militarists. At 20 years of age he took part in the legendary Nanchang uprising, stirring up the Communists against dictator Chiang Kai-shek. During the Long March and the Sino-Japanese war he proved himself to be one of the most talented and devoted of Mao's commanders. In the beginning of the 1940's Lin Biao, a master of the conduct of partisan war and a strong advocate of "war communism," headed the military academy in Yanan. His name was associated with victories during the civil war and in the fight for the liberation of Manchuria. He served in the Korean war. After this he disappeared from the political scene, apparently because of tuberculosis. In 1959, after supporting Mao during the period of political turmoil in the leadership of the Communist Party, which was caused by the failure of the "Great Leap," he became Minister of Defence in place of Peng Dehuai. At the time when several military leaders were calling for the modernization of the army, Lin Biao proclaimed the unshakeable Maoist principles of "people's war" and obliterated ranks in the military. In the mid-1960s, he ordered troops to put into practice the slogan "Shell the headquarters!" which was the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution". It was Lin Biao who compiled the "Red Pamphlet" with quotations from Mao, which gave answers to all life's questions. In May, 1966 at the enlarged session of the Politburo, he said: "Chairman Mao was put to the test more than Marx, Engels, and Lenin... Marx and Engels didn't have the personal experience of leading a proletarian revolution, and never personally commanded such a large number of troops in political and military battles. Lenin only lived to age 54 and died just six years after the October Revolution... The propositions, works, and revolutionary experience of Chairman Mao show that he is a great proletarian genius." The Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party named Lin Biao a "proletarian genius" and "Mao's heir." Could a mediocre politician like Lin Biao hope for anything more? It's somehow hard to believe that Lin Biao, so indebted to his leader, "for the sake of realizing his far-reaching ambitious plans" (which had not been noticed in him before) would unexpectedly betray Mao and conspire to murder him.

Mao Zedong's last conversation with his Minister of Defence

The Lin Biao case: a thrilling but inconvincing intrigue

The second mystery is related to the Trident airplane number 256. The question is, was the Minister of Defense actually on the Trident and if so, was he alive by the time of the accident? Another possibility is that Lin Biao was not on the plane, but instead had been arrested earlier in Beijing and his double was burned at Underkhan. Last spring two high-ranking Mongolian representatives claimed that at the site of the crash "nothing was found that proved that Lin Biao was present on the airplane" and that "the Chinese, obviously, had reason to convince everyone of the opposite." This, however, is not supported by the weighty evidence. That brings us to the second suggestion – Lin Biao was on the Trident but was already dead (on the 12th of September he and his wife were killed by the guards of the 8341 Special Force), which makes the second version more likely.

A Mr. Dondog, a witness to the events in Mongolia and one of the first to appear on the scene, remembered: "Among the wreckage we found eight people. All were dead and badly burned obviously already from the fire on the steppe... Various straps remained on the woman's legs and chest, and on the men – remants of military uniforms. It's interesting that all we were lying there practically in the same exact position – face up with legs and arms spread out. The ninth, whom we found later to one side of the debris, was wearing a yellow leather jacket and lay face down. I think he was alive longer than the rest and even managed to crawl away from the plane. Anyway, we were too late..." The Mongolian witness remembers further that scattered around the burned-out plane were porcelain dishes, covers, a camera, a tape recorder, several pistols, and... packages of French condoms. Dondog and his friends put all their findings in one box and gave them to representatives from the Chinese Ministry of Public Security, who flew in to the site of the accident about noon, September 15, 1971. The only thing they didn't touch were the bodies of the victims.

Two parts of the witness's recollections seem more or less interesting: the position of the bodies and the list of things Lin Biao's family took with them. Why were eight burned corpses in the exact same position while the ninth body was off to the side? Was the ninth the only one alive on the Trident up to the time of the crash? What of a kamikaze pilot, whose existence was suggested by Western investigators?

Finally, such a detail like a large number of condoms has to catch your eye. It's hard to believe that in the most critical moment of his life the 64-year-old fugitive would think more about his future family planning than of the plane's fuel tanks. But if Lin Biao was already dead at the time of the accident and someone's experienced hands placed various luggage on the plane, not forgetting the condoms to the Marshal's discredit, then Lin Biao's strange inattentiveness is understood. Why would the fugitives, running from Shanghai on a plane with half-empty fuel tanks, decide to fly not to the nearest neighbouring country – Taiwan, South Korea, or Japan, but rather to the North toward the "Soviet Revisionists," against whom an incident at Damansky was built with the Marshal's permission.

...Upon arriving at the scene of the crash the experts had serious trouble identifying the bodies: the faces were burned beyond recognition. Careful investigation showed that body number five was Lin Biao. The specialists' opinion was that the airplane was neither shot down nor exploded in mid-air. It only could have exploded close to the ground. Had this not been the case, debris would have been scattered over no less than ten square kilometers. The Chinese Ambassador to Mongolia, Xu Weniy, believed that the pilot was preparing to make an emergency landing but when doing so the Trident lost its equilibrium and the plane began to burn when its right wing touched the ground.

Third wheel

So if one were to suggest that Lin Biao was murdered or someone somehow helped bring about his death, the following questions arise: why, and who profited from it? Mao perceived a definite threat to his personal power in the excessive strength of the position of Lin Biao and his military supporters in the provinces and at the centre. By September of 1971 the People's Liberation Army of China did its job, which was to help Mao rid himself of known and unknown political adversaries. The further tenure of the army on the political scene in China was already dangerous for the "Great Helmsman". In his eagerness to reduce the influence of the military, the "pragmatics" and the "leftists" had supported Mao. The former were interested in the liberalization of the regime and the return of their exiled cohorts of the "schools of May 7" to Party and government posts. The latter strove for replacing the military people in command positions with their own protégés, and the blame for the "extremes" carried out in the years of the "Great Chaos" shifting to the army.

Indeed, immediately after the "September crisis" again came the call: "The Party leads with rifles," and the army fell prey to an intensive purge. Along with Lin Biao disappeared Huang Yongsheng, the Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese Army, and three of his deputies who were members of the Politburo. At the same time the pragmatic Zhou Enlai and the leaders of the leftists – the wife of Mao, Jiang Qing, his son-in-law Yao Wenyuan, and the ideologist Zhang Chunqiao – advanced to the leading roles. A short while later Deng Xiaoping, who had up to that time been involved in the "reeducation of the masses" in the Jiangxi Province, unexpectedly returned to active politics. As his daughter Deng Rongping subsequently remembered, the death of the "closest comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao" shocked the future leader of the country. "Papa appeared disturbed. All he said was: 'Nothing would have been right in the land without the death of Lin Biao.'" Deng Xiaoping wrote a letter to the Central Committee, where he announced his decisive support for the fight against "Lin Biao's anti-Party clique" and asked them to reconsider his own case.

Alexander Chudodeyev

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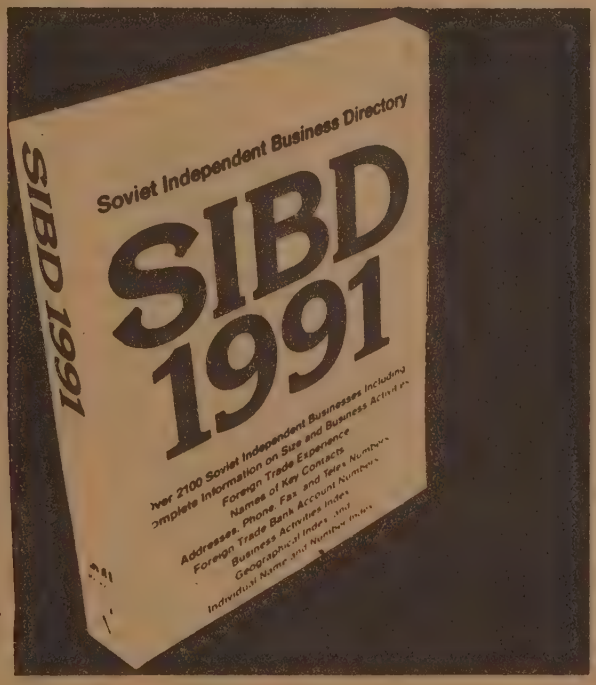

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Torture

A few weeks ago the European Parliament's human rights subcommittee was given a terrifying presentation of the use of crude physical torture by some 60 police forces of the world

Lord Nicholas Bethell

The presenters were the Centre for the Rehabilitation of Torture Victims in Copenhagen. They convinced all of us, whatever our politics, that torture is not some isolated survival of the Middle Ages, but a widely used police method, especially in political cases, and one of the world's great evils, a barbarity that should be fought with every ounce of the civilized world's strength.

I am not thinking of suspects who are "knocked about" in police stations or who "fall down the stairs" or "slip in the shower" after resisting arrest. Such things happen in Switzerland and Sweden and other extremely civilized countries, unfortunately, however much the authorities try to prevent it. It is in the nature of any police force that such things will occasionally happen.

Nor do I mean the methods used in Northern Ireland in the wake of internment 20 years ago, even though they caused Britain to be arraigned before the European Court of Human Rights – in my view rightly. Faced by the IRA's campaign of terrorism and murder, wich still continues, the British forces reacted by using unacceptable methods of interrogation – the socalled "sensory deprivation" techniques.

IRA suspects were kept for hours bound and hooded, with "white noise" blocking out every sound. They were not touched, let alone beaten, yet the experience of being unable to move, see, feel or hear was unbearable and it was not long before they were telling the army and police everything they knew. This was useful in the fight against the IRA, but Britain's reputation as a country that observes human rights was severely damaged.

In the Soviet Union torture was an important feature of Stalin's rule, but the use of it, in the crude physical sense of the term, faded away after his death. From the 1960s to the 1980s, it is true, dissidents were grossly ill-treated, kept in solitary confinement, starved, frozen and deprived of medical treatment – even though their opposition to the authorities (unlike that of the IRA) was political and completely non-violent.

The cruellest feature of the Brezhnev years was the punishment of well-known dissidents with pain-inducing drugs. This was done by perverted KGB psychiatrists in special wings of certain Soviet mental hospitals. Even this, though, is not as horrible as the torture being used, without any great international outcry, in many countries of the world today.

This is torture on a different, far more terrible level or inhumanity, the crudest possible torment of the body and mind, now used systematically and with the knowledge of governments in such countries as China, Burma, India and Sri Lanka, in many countries of Africa and all over the Islamic world, including Pakistan and Turkey.

One case known to me involved a man who was tortured for four months in a Baghdad prison, beaten on the soles of his feet with a strick (known as "falaqa"), then forced to run on broken glass and given electric shocks "so that his whole body jumped." He and his six cell-mates had no toilet facilities and were never taken to the toilet. They had to relieve themselves in the cell. He is now being treated at the Copenhagen centre, where he shows "fearful anxiety" and where blood tests indicate that he may have been poisoned before being released.

Anotner Copenhagen patient, arrested in Northern Iraq spent his months of torture either suspended by his arms or legs from a so-called "parrot stick" or in a small cell containing three feet of water, which meant that he could never sleep. Several times he was taken out and put in a line of prisoners to be executed, but the firing squad aimed at and killed only some of the prisoners. The others were taken back to their cells and told that next time, unless they cooperated, they would be shot for real.

Another Iranian was kept for four months naked, hanging by his right arm from the ceiling, so that his left foot could just touch the ground. He could sleep only by hanging limp from

In Pakistan prisoners are beaten with a uniformed doctor in attendance

the rope. The water he was given contained spittle or urine. He was burned with a cattle rod heated on a gas ring.

The worst torture, he told the Copenhagen doctors, was when a guard put a revolver against his temple and fired. It was only a blank, but the very loud bang threw him into deep confusion, since for several seconds he was not sure whether he was alive or dead.

The Centre's records desribe cases of men who were immersed and nearly asphyxiated in baths full of blood and urine. (This is done so as to cause the victim humiliation and physical revulsion as well as pain.) Others were kept hanging for weeks from hands tied behind their backs, the so-called "Palestinian" position, or folded up in three inside a small cube-shaped hutch, the "turtle" position.

Men and women are usually stripped naked before being tortured and often they suffer sexual abuse, or are forced to watch members of their family being abused. This will make the victim feel guilty for having opposed the government as well as tormented and humiliated.

Testimony by the victims themselves is not the only evidence of the tortures. The doctors can diagnose, for instance, a case of "Palestinian" hanging from the symptoms caused by the resulting dislocation of the shoulders and "falaqa" from swellings of the feet. Burns inflicted by metal objects or cigarette ends can be identified as such also.

No one can resist for long in the face of such treatment. It goes far beyond what is needed to extract even the most elaborate false confession or false witness. It is done, in many cases, as a punishment in itself, or as a deterrent to dissident activity by some political or ethnic group.

The opposition will know the victim and, when he is released, they will hear what he tells them and see how he is. It will discourage them from their opposition activity.

The victim of torture is usually so crushed and humiliated that he loses the will to carry on any resistance, maybe for ever. Even after the wounds have healed, the psychological damage may be irreversible. And sometimes, of course, the torturers act out of revenge or maybe even for the pleasure their work gives them.

There are three very sinister developments. The first is that a new torture technique may appear in one country, say the Myanmar (Burma), and then shortly afterwards be seen again thousands of miles away, say in Zaire. It indicates that the practitioners of this black art communicate with one another internationally to work out which methods are the most effective.

The second is the role now played by professionals. Torture is now a skilled speciality not only of the police, but also of medicine and psychiatry. When torture is being applied, doctors are in attendance, both to advise on which technique may be most effective and to ensure that victims do not die, so long as the authorities need them.

The third is the emergence of a special type of "finger-nail-pulling regime," the one that simply does not care. In Egypt and Turkey, for instance, there is torture, but there is also a certain rule of law and a human rights movement and a desire for international respectability. These factors limit the torturers ability to do evil. In Iraq and Iran and Burma, though, there is no such limitation. Torture is the policy of the state and the view of the outside world is not taken into account.

The European Parliament will now try to identify the states which use torture, and even the individual towns and prisons where it happens. Those who do it will then be held up to public censure. The individual torturers will be identified and denounced, in the hope that some time in the future they can be brought to justice by their own people. And in the meantime we will deny them the trade and aid that we in Europe control.

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FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

A witty and ironic writer, George Orwell (his real name is Eric O'Blair) lived a short life. His most well-known and best novel – *1984* – remains topical even today, although it was written forty years ago when the writer summed up his life and artistic experience. His no less well-known work, the satirical allegory *Animal Farm* (1945) was one of the first anti-Stalinist books ever written.

Orwell never believed in borrowed theories. A witness of the dramatic events of the 1930s and 1940s he was always up with the times, always devoted to truth opposing falsehood, whichever direction falsehoods might be coming from. His main enemy was totalitarianism in all forms. He regarded totalitarianism as a threat to freedom, democracy, and supreme human values. Until his last day he remained an advocate of democratic socialism, which he interpreted as a system based on freedom, social justice, and respect for man. Orwell never tired of repeating that democracy was impossible without the enlightenment of the people while the enlightenment of the people was impossible without democracy.

Orwell left a large heritage which we are only starting to become acquainted with. Besides *1984* and *Animal Farm* he wrote five novels, several books of sketches and essays, memories about the war in Spain. His articles, sketches, reviews, and radio programmes made up three large 500-page volumes.

Orwell was one of the brightest British journalists. As a newspaper observer and radio newscaster he wrote much, but his materials were never time-serving or fussily done. This makes Orwell comparable with such giants of British essay-writing as Swift and Hazlitt. Orwell wanted to help his readers free themselves from false myths, dogmas, and stereotypes. He believed that one of the most dangerous myths was the Soviet myth cultivated in the West by the Stalin propaganda machine. He deemed it his duty to write about that myth even when such an attitude was not popular, because Britain was allied with the USSR in the war. The publication of *Animal Farm* met with many difficulties: it coincided with the year of the Teheran conference of the allies, the peak of the anti-Hitler coalition.

In 1947 Orwell wrote a preface to *Animal Farm* which was translated into Ukranian and circulated among emigrants and displaced persons in the West. In this preface Orwell tells about the genesis of his political philosophy.

The end of the Soviet myth

George Orwell

I am aware that I write for readers about whom I know nothing... First I would like to say something about myself and the experiences by which I arrived at my political position.

I was born in India in 1903. My father was an official in the English administration there, and my family was one of those ordinary middle-class families of soldiers, clergymen, government officials, teachers, lawyers, doctors, etc. I was educated at Eton, the most costly and snobbish of the English Public Schools. But I had only got in there by means of a scholarship; otherwise my father could not have afforded to send me to a school of this type.

Shortly after I left school (I wasn't quite twenty years old then) I went to Burma and joined the Indian Imperial Police. This was an armed police, a sort of gendarmerie very similar to the Spanish Guardia Civil or the Garde Mobile in France. I stayed five years in the service. It did not suit me and made me hate imperialism, although at that time nationalist feelings in Burma were not very marked, and relations between the English and the Burmese were not particularly bad. When on leave in England in 1927, I resigned from the service and decided to become a writer: at first without any especial success... I sometimes lived for months on end amongst the poor and half-criminal elements who inhabit the worst parts of the poorer quarters, or take to the streets, begging and stealing. Up to 1930 I did not on the whole look upon myself as a Socialist. In fact I had as yet no clearly defined political views. I became pro-Socialist more out of disgust with the way the poorer section of the industrial workers were oppressed and neglected than out of any theoretical admiration for a planned society.

In 1936 I got married. In almost the same week the civil war broke out in Spain. My wife and I both wanted to go to Spain and fight for the Spanish Government. In Spain I spent almost six months on the Aragon front until, at Huesca, a Fascist sniper shot me through the throat.

In the early stages of the war foreigners were on the whole unaware of the inner struggles between the various political parties supporting the Government. Through a series of accidents I joined not the International Brigade like the majority of foreigners, but the POUM militia – i.e. the Spanish Trotskyists.

So in the middle of 1937, when the Communists gained control (or partial control) of the Spanish Government and began to hunt down the Trotskyists, we both found ourselves amongst the victims. We were very lucky to get out of Spain alive, and not even to have been arrested once. Many of our friends were shot, and others spent a long time in prison or simply disappeared.

These man-hunts in Spain went on at the same time as the great purges in the USSR and were a sort of supplement to them. In

Spain as well as in Russia the nature of the accusations (namely, conspiracy with the Fascists) was the same and as far as Spain was concerned I had every reason to believe that the accusations were false. To experience all this was a valuable object lesson: it taught me how easily totalitarian propaganda can control the opinion of enlightened people in democratic countries... Yet on our return to England we found numerous sensible and well-informed observers believing the most fantastic accounts of conspiracy, treachery and sabotage which the press reported from the Moscow trials.

And so I understood, more clearly than ever, the negative influence of the Soviet myth upon the Western Socialist movement...

I have never visited Russia and my knowledge of it consists only of what can be learned by reading books and newspapers. Even if I had the power, I would not wish to interfere in Soviet domestic affairs: I would not condemn Stalin and his associates merely for their barbaric and undemocratic methods. It is quite possible that, even with the best intentions, they could not have acted otherwise under the conditions prevailing there.

People in the West believe in the Soviet myth primarily because they want to believe that, somewhere, a real ideal society does actually exist

But on the other hand it was of the utmost importance to me that people in Western Europe should see the Soviet regime for what it really was. Since 1930 I had seen little evidence that the USSR was progressing towards anything that one could truly call Socialism. On the contrary, I was struck by clear signs of its transformation into a hierarchical society, in which the rulers have no more reason to give up their power than any other ruling class. Moreover, the workers and intelligentsia in a country like England cannot understand that the USSR of today is altogether different from what it was in 1917. It is partly that they do not want to understand (i.e. they want to believe that, somewhere, a really Socialist country does actually exist), and partly that, being accustomed to comparative freedom and moderation in public life, totalitarianism is completely incomprehensible to them.

Yet one must remember that England is not completely democratic. It is also a capitalist country with great class privileges and (even now, after a war that has tended to equalize everybody) with great differences in wealth. But nevertheless it is a country in which people have lived together for several hundred years without knowing civil war, in which the laws are relatively just and official news and statistics can almost invariably be believed, and, last but not least, in which to hold and to voice minority views does not involve any mortal danger. In such an atmosphere the man in the street has no real understanding of things like concentration camps, mass deportations, arrests without trial, press censorship, etc. Everything he reads about a country like the USSR is automatically translated into English terms, and he quite innocently accepts the lies of totalitarian propaganda. Up to 1939, and even later, the majority of English people were incapable of assessing the true nature of the Nazi regime in Germany, and now, with the Soviet regime, they are still to a large extent under the same sort of illusion.

This has caused great harm to the Socialist movement in England, and had serious consequences for English foreign policy. Indeed, in my opinion, nothing has contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of Socialism as the belief that Russia is a Socialist country and that every act of its rulers must be excused, if not imitated.

On my return from Spain I thought of exposing the Soviet myth in a story that could be easily understood by almost anyone and which could be easily translated into other languages. However the actual details of the story did not come to me for some time until one day (I was then living in a small village). I saw a little boy, perhaps ten years old, driving a huge cart-horse along a narrow path, whipping it whenever it tried to turn. It struck me that if only such animals became aware of their strength we should have no power over them, and that men exploit animals in much the same way as the rich exploit the proletariat.

I proceeded to analyze Marx's theory from the animals' point of view. To them it was clear that the concept of a class struggle between humans was pure illusion, since whenever it was necessary to exploit animals, all humans united against them: the true struggle is between animals and humans. From this point of departure, it was not difficult to elaborate the story. I did not write it out till 1943, for I was always engaged on other work which gave me no time; and in the end, I included some events, for example the Teheran Conference, which were taking place while I was writing. Thus the main outlines of the story were in my mind over a period of six years before it was actually written.

I do not wish to comment on the work; if it does not speak for itself, it is a failure. But I should like to emphasise two points: first, that although the various episodes are taken from the actual history of the Russian Revolution, they are dealt with schematically and their chronological order is changed; this was necessary for the symmetry of the story. The second point has been missed by most critics, possibly because I did not emphasize it sufficiently. A number of readers may finish the book with the impression that it ends in the complete reconciliation of the pigs and the humans. That was not my intention; on the contrary I meant it to end on a loud note of discord, for I wrote it immediately after the Teheran Conference which everybody thought had established the best possible relations between the USSR and the West. I personally did not believe that such good relations would last long; and, as events have shown, I wasn't far wrong...

Publication
and introduction by
Prof. Boris Gilenson, D.Sc.(Philology)

■

The 48-year-old Minister of Economy of Latvia, **Janis Aboltins,** said that if anybody, including the deputies of the Latvian Parliament, interfered with the economic reforms in Latvia, he would hand in his resignation.

Janis has already had clashes with the parliament. As many call him the father of the economic reforms which are now being carried out in Latvia, and even nicknamed him the Latvian Balcerowicz, if you can compare the situation with that in Poland, some deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia claimed that Aboltins is a dilettante when it comes to economics, that his knowledge is too theoretical and his ideas not appropriate for the republic. In response to this accusation the minister, probably worn out from the constant captious critisism, proposed that the deputies hear a lecture on the fundamentals of economic theories. The deputies, offended by that, demanded his resignation...

Aboltins didn't pay any attention to the angered deputies then. It is said in Latvia that his confidence in himself is not only due to his knowledge of economics, but to the personal financial independence which he got being one of the most famous basketball players in Latvia. That fact in his biography guarantees him, at least in the early stages of the reforms, the love of the people of Latvia – they don't usually love ministers, but a famous basketball player is always loved.

However, the Minister of the Economy thinks that the reforms are going all right, so it is unlikely that the people will "fall out of love" with him.

"Specialists come to me and tell me that cars are at a standstill in the cities of the USSR where oil is drilled because of a shortage of gasoline. But here the cars are still moving on the streets. That means that our situation is better than in other places," said Aboltins in an interview with the newspaper *Sovetskaya Molodezh.*

Latvia receives its gasoline through decentralized deliveries on market conditions.

The minister admitted that most of all he enjoys reading the announcements in the paper *Diena* about the creation of new enterprises. Over a thousand have been registered in Latvia. The minister thinks that proves that the republic has the spirit of private enterprise, which will grow along with the process of privatization. For instance, thanks to private entrepreneurs the government won't need to buy potatoes from the state farms.

As for the Union enterprises, Janis doesn't intend to close them down since he thinks they are necessary. They provide work for the inhabitants of the republic. But they must obey the laws and economic regulations of the republic.

* * *

How the President invited the General Secretary

Several months ago the president of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev, made an American of Korean descent, absolutely unknown in our country, his economic advisor. Now he has invited another South Korean – the 59-year-old General Secretary of the now in power South Korean Democratic Liberal Party, **Kim Yoon Hwan.** The leader of the DLP, in his own words, just two years ago would never have imagined receiving an invitation to the USSR, not to mention to one of its republics.

However, the official part of the trip didn't begin in Alma-Ata, but in Moscow like in the good old times. In the capital Kim Yoon Hwan, who they predict will win the 1992 president elections in the fall, was met strictly according to protocol – first he was received by the vice president of the USSR, Gennady Yanayev, then he was taken to Staraya Ploshchad where the party officials of the CC of the CPSU tried to convince the former journalist specializing in international affairs from the popular paper *Choson Ilbo* that the delivery of Soviet weapons to Pyongyang cannot be stopped because there exists a treaty on friendship and mutual assistance with the North Koreans. Then the South Korean guest was taken to the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR where he gave a speech handed out beforehand to those attending. Apparently so as not to offend his hosts in Moscow, he spoke only about the development of relations between his country and the USSR and didn't say a word about the republics...

Nazarbayev was in Moscow at that time and they met. In Kazakhstan it was said to be an unofficial meeting, and therefore only those whom it concerned were in the know. Only at the end of the week did the honored guest arrive in Alma-Ata, where he again met with Nazarbayev, this time officially.

In Moscow in his speech at the Diplomatic Academy, Kim Yoon Hwan spoke much about the prospects for economic cooperation between the Republic of Korea and the USSR. He said that the trade turnover between the two countries would soon reach 2 billion dollars (between South Korea and China, which don't have diplomatic relations, it already exceeds 4 billion). While giving his speech the General Secretary often sipped mineral water. Not Narzan mineral water as is customary, but his own South Korean which he brought with him. They say that he drank the local mineral water in Alma-Ata, though, and liked it. Maybe it tasted like the Korean water, or maybe the guest from South Korea trusted those in Kazakhstan more than those in Moscow.

A.Chudodeyev

A new independent anthology, *Tyoply Stan* has come out in Moscow. Its editor is **Mikhail Belavin,** the author of several novels and winner of the literary awards of the Writers' Union of the USSR and of the Znaniye Society.

In the words of Belavin, an open society needs open literature. The idea behind the new publication is to support budding authors and give them a chance to have their works printed. The first edition of the anthology is a collection of 56 prose writers, poets and playwrights, and essay writers with all sorts of opinions and styles. The second edition, Belavin says, is more civic and has the subdivisions "Man," "Fate," "Personalities" (the images of contemporary man), "Thoughts," etc. The third edition which is in the process of being prepared for publication is lyrico-philosophical, and the fourth will be dedicated to the enigma and tragedy of the Russian soul.

Besides famous authors like Yu.Mamleyev, A.Ananyev, A.Zhigulin, and V.Berestov, there will be new names on the pages of the anthology.

Foreign authors have been included as well. For example, in the second issue are verses of F.Kafka previously unknown in Russia.

Tyoply Stan is a region of Moscow where the Kaluzhskaya road once passed through and now there are high-rise apartment houses (the editor Belavin lives in one of them). In times long past a coachman's hut stood there and Russian travellers went inside in frosts and blizzards to warm themselves and drink tea...

"Likewise, *Tyoply Stan* also invites everyone," says Belavin. "We are prepared to work with any publishing house here or abroad." Based on the anthology the publishing house "New Book" was created. The physicist Sergei Seregin, head of Progress, a firm of the latest technologies, helped Belavin do this. The address of the publishing house is as follows: 11/2 Ivan Babushkin St., 117292, Moscow; INOTEX–Progress, for *Tyoply Stan*.

M.Litov

* * *

Hoki Tokuda, the widow of the American writer Henry Miller, exhibited 170 of her husband's watercolours in Tokyo.

Tokuda moved to Japan in 1985 after living in the United States for 21 years. She opened a small bar in the centre of Tokyo where foreign fashion models, basketball players, and businessmen could talk about literature, poetry, and paintings with respectable residents of the city and listen to piano music. Sometimes Hoki herself sits down at the piano and plays.

Hoki met Henry Miller in Los Angeles at a cozy restaurant where she was singing in the evenings.

Miller was 75 then; she not even 30 yet. "He wrote me hundreds of letters," reminisces Tokuda. "I was young. I thought he was too old and tried to hide from him." These letters were published in 1987 in a separate book. The "fatal Japanese woman" Hoki Tokuda is also present in many of Miller's works. For him she was the personification of love and passion and sleepless nights. He wrote about the demonic depth of her dark eyes. However, Hoki herself confessed that they had never been on terms of intimacy. For the two years they lived together (they were married for 8 years) Hoki had a lover whom Miller knew about. The threesome – Miller, Hoki, and her friend – often appeared together in restaurants and at Hollywood parties. Miller even found the situation amusing, said Hoki.

Henry always lived in poverty, remembers Hoki, and often paid his debts with watercolours. The exhibition which his widow arranged revealed a completely new side of Miller – a big child who took a childish delight in painting the world of his happiness. Hoki would like to collect all his paintings and open a museum with his works in the US or Japan. For now, she gave 15 of his paintings to the gallery where the exhibition was held.

* * *

Evidently, 22-year-old **Michael Stich** will top the list of the participants in the second Kremlin Cup tournament to be held in Moscow shortly.

Before, if people were speaking of a German who had won the most prestigious world championship in tennis, no one doubted that it was Boris Becker. He was known as "Rambo with a racket." But the last Wimbledon tournament was a sensation: Becker has ceded to his fellow countryman, Michael Stich.

Stich is that unknown boy from Hamburg who remained in the background a year ago at the Kremlin Cup. He began to seriously play tennis in 1988 when he was serving in the army. He became a professional in the fall of 1989. The young outsider, who at first didn't even make it onto the list ranking the best players in the world, rapidly progressed. At the end of 1990 he was number 42. Even then Becker had to take note of the young pretender: after the match at Wimbledon Boris acknowledged that "Michael is now one of the top four players in the world..."

After his victory over Becker at Wimbledon in 1991 Stich calmly said: "Boris is still number one."

* * *

A new Picasso from Basques

Art critics are comparing the 32-year-old sculptor **Casto Salano** to Picasso. His sculptures are just as expressive and at the same time sensual. Salano belongs to the young generation of Spanish artists whose talent developed under democracy. Perhaps that is why he felt free to experiment in bronze and in stone. Salano is a Basque and lives in the capital of the Alava Province in the autonomous Basque Country – Vitoria. National themes dominate his works. For instance he has done sculptures of people playing "cesta punta," the national game of the Basques...

"For me not form but the energy of the subject is important," says the artist. Salano's favorite subject, bulls, are full of explosive force.

When the Arabs seized the Pyrenean peninsula the Basques managed to remain apart. Later, having become part of the Spanish kingdom, they constantly sought autonomy and preserved not only their customs, but their language. Maybe that's why in all Casto Salano's works there is an energy, smashing all barriers as well as customary perception.

Vitoria is a relatively small town. In its centre are two sculptures by Salano ordered by the municipality. The city officials often give Salano's sculptures as gifts to honored guests of Vitoria – it is felt that they express the national character and are understandable to everyone. Salano's works tell us about the Basques without words, folios, or historical documents.

In spite of being so young, Salano is already said to be the greatest Spanish sculptor. So far his works are unknown in the USSR, but hopefully they will soon be exhibited in Moscow through the efforts of the Academy of Arts of the USSR.

A.Shatalov
Vitoria–Moscow

The Acropolis is there. And where's the money?

At the end of the 20th century culture hallows and ennobles any activity. It can hallow foreign subsidies, too

Alexander Mulyarchik,
D.Sc.(Philology)

The recent Soviet-Japanese summit in Tokyo was rife with ambiguities and uncertainties and, therefore, promptly sank into the common grave of political stillborns. However, a statement by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu made at that summit is worth mentioning here. Kaifu quoted the following passage from Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago:* "Freedom of spirit comes to the sacred city of Moscow, and the city is enveloped in rapturous calm as it happily enters the future." The Premier's thinly veiled hint could not but flatter his guest, but what appears to me to be more substantial was that Pasternak's captivating prose and elevated feelings embodied, as the Japanese leader interpreted them, the quintessence of the Russian people's soul.

Ronald Reagan put it best

Kaifu's words were not merely a tribute to traditional Oriental mellifluousness. Allusions to the unique phenomenon of multinational spirituality, to the 19th- and 20th-century Russian classics' world fame are often made by foreign statesmen on such occasions, and by no means formally so. After all, politicians are only mouthpieces for the omnipotent public opinion. Since long before "perestroika", leaders of various countries have made a point of referring to unique Russian culture as the property of all mankind. Ronald Reagan expressed himself on the subject better, perhaps, than anyone else. In one of his New Year messages to our compatriots he stressed that "the whole world knows and reveres the fabulous and multifaceted heritage of your literature and art." The President, whose policy in the eighties "drove into a corner" (as Mikhail Gorbachev put it) the imperial system which had failed to fulfil its promise, went on to say that "this great heritage was born of a great soul which no sufferings can break down, which has, in fact, been only ennobled by suffering, of the soul and culture which, in their turn, have enriched all mankind." "So let us lend an ear to the voice of this soul in which the fates of so many nations and traditions are reflected," the "godfather" of "democratization" and "glasnost" declared.

Let me illustrate the above quotation with a fresh example. A literary and theatrical festival was held in Yalta's Chekhov House-Museum on the occasion of its 70th anniversary. Taking part in it were a literary critic from Finland and a well-known British actress who gave a brilliant performance as Charlotte in the *Cherry Orchard.* A girl in the audience – Lorry Baldwin, a graduate student from the state of Oregon in the USA, bore a striking resemblance to Lika Mizinova in profile. Victor Sawdon Pritchett, a veteran British author and Chekhov biographer, a coeval of the 20th century, delivered an address. Those, however, were only outward manifestations of the appeal our culture holds for other nations. The really important thing is that men like Chekhov and their contribution to our culture connectus to the West and the East as closely as do so-called "personal contacts," or even certain formal interstate agreements on friendship and cooperation.

Drawing by Viktor Kazachek

Updike and Chekhov

Many things Russian have come to the fore of the outside world's intellectual and art scene over the past decade or so. The "Russian theme" has drawn the attention of experts whose opinions carry a lot of weight with millions of their less learned but inquisitive and eager compatriots. In the early eighties, for instance, Ronald Reagan denounced Brezhnev's totalitarian "empire of evil" and, the same breath, lavished praise on Mikhail Bulgakov's novel *The Master and Margarita* which he had found thoroughly enjoyable. Leading politicians and public figures of America and Western Europe admitted, for all the world to hear, that works by the 19th-century Russian writers of genius had had a tremendous impact on them. As for modern writers, they consider it a privilege if critics pronounce their works comparable, in some degree, with our classics.

American literary critics have made a common practice of matching the style of John Updike, the Southerner Eudora Welty, and the late John Cheever against that of Chekhov's short stories. Early in their writing careers, Saul Bellow and Norman Mailer deliberately imitated Dostoyevsky. Motives borrowed from Russian belles lettres are often organically woven into the very texture of a work of fiction. In the novel *A Married Man,* Britain's Paul Piers Read draws extensively on the study of human psychology made by Leo Tolstoi in his *Death of Ivan Ilyich,* while Donald Michael Thomas, also British, has created a series of works conceived as paraphrases of a number of Russian literary masterpieces beginning with Pushkin's *Egyptian Nights.* Over the past year or two alone, American writers have fictionalized such events having to do with the history of Russian literature as Tolstoi's departure from Yasnaya Polyana, Chekhov's trip to Sakhalin, and the Nazi seizure of the Crimea – where Chekhov's villa is – during World War II.

Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Turgenev, Gogol and their aura – which does not tarnish as years go by – constitute the most precious part of our cultural heritage which keeps gaining in value and which helps our country, now in turmoil, regain relative stability amid material and moral impoverishment.

Give Tolstoi's negligent posterity a hand

Soviet newspapers of various orientations are now calling on us to change everything – our thinking, our attitudes, our work habits. It is cautiously implied that changes in our work ethics are possible only on the condition that every gainfully employed person – be it a university professor or a sales clerk – feels a few jobless breathing down his neck, that King Hunger of Nekrasov's *Railway* grips hordes of the negligent and the incompetent by the throats. There is no denying the fact that the social centrifuge which separates the husk from the grain should be fitted with shock absorbers for those who, for objective reasons, are incapable of fighting for existence. And, of course, the overdue reforms will go less painfully if we make clever use of foreign financial aid without which, as it is now obvious to all, Russia will fall hopelessly behind the caravan of history.

Obviously, any international programme for curing a sick economy will never succeed unless all its prescriptions are scrupulously abided by. Like in Peter the Great's time, we shall hardly be able to do without foreign supervision of the fulfillment of such programmes, no matter what the more squeamish of us may call this unpleasant procedure – "a sellout of the country," or "occupation" even. In the meantime, we should not rule out the likelihood of individual freewill donations, of investments not promising a quick profit.

A reasonable question arises: why should an individual and independent foreign financier give preference to Russia over, say, Mozambique, the Sudan, or the Republic of Bangladesh? No business management theory will provide the answer to that, and as to plain common sense, it may only warn the said financier against dealing with a nation whose mentality is a mixture of acquisitiveness and apathy and whose leadership is not in a hurry to wake up to reality.

Our last Big Hope – which can be fulfilled by enlightened statesmen, not by hardened politicians concerned only with their personal survival or by go-getting primitive "capitalists" – rests with recognizing the "cultural factor" as a vital component of our present and future interrelationships with public opinion abroad. Among the politicians, journalists, and even businessmen of Western Europe and, especially, the United States of America, there are quite a few college and university graduates who know that thanks to its past Russia remains the world's "reservoir of spirituality." If advertising is a sales promotion factor, culture hallows and ennobles any activity at the end of the 20th century. Therefore, the more open-minded people abroad may welcome an opportunity to help the mixed-up descendants of Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, and Chekhov cope with their economic troubles and regain their sterling spiritual values of old for the benefit of all mankind.

I am not likening modern Russia to the Acropolis of Athens where a standard modern city's scape contrasts sharply with the majestic relics of the past. However, the Acropolis remains one of the wonders of the world to this day, and its spiritual appeal returns quite tangible material dividends. We have an Acropolis of our own – I mean the Russian cultural tradition which, among very few other things, will hopefully see us through the shocks involved in our inevitable future entry into the worldwide economic and intellectual continuum.

The grievous hearts

Tatiana Ivanova

"A Word to the People" – an appeal to the people to overthrow the legally elected democratic leaders of Russia. A call to violence

Do you know who Alexander Tizyakov is?... No? Well, neither do I. But I think you'd agree that things are really bad if this Tizyakov felt it necessary to personally turn to his own people. And he did. His leaflet, or memorandum, is titled just that: "A Word to the People." The papers *Moskovskaya Pravda* and *Sovetskaya Rossiya* published the masterpiece the same day.

You wonder why I keep talking about Alexander Tizyakov when there are 11 other signatures under the text of "A word to the People"? You see, I know the others. Yuri Bondarev, for instance, was a very well-known writer during the stagnation years. His first book about the war, it seemed, was honest. The next books didn't seem so honest, but he became a big wheel among the writers. They constantly praised him and ran off his books in millions of copies. The last six years Bondarev has also become famous as the initiator and organizer of all the obscurant plenums and congresses of the Russian Writers' Union. The fame as a writer has entirely and naturally ran out. People simply stopped reading those writers which they had been force-fed in the years when there was no true literature.

In those days there was a very talented writer, Rasputin. Now, unfortunately, he's only known for fighting beauty pageants, aerobic dancing, rock music and other pernicious Western influences. And for being a person presenting Ryzhkov in the election campaign.

There was also the singer Lyudmila Zykina then. She is a good singer. They say Leonid Ilyich liked her very much. And when that epoch with its tastes and customs became a thing of the past, she went out with it.

Prokhanov was also considered a writer then. In order to get the flavour of that long gone epoch, pick up his novel lauding the invasion of Afghanistan, *The Tree in the Centre of Kabul*, and read it.

Besides the three one-time famous writers and a singer, under the appeal are the signatures of two generals (Varennikov and Gromov), the buttress of kolkhozes – Starodubtsev, the sculptor Klykov, whom Pamyat ardently backed as a people's deputy, Eduard Volodin, regarded as a philosopher in *Literaturnaya Rossiya*, and this Alexander Tizyakov. Except for Tizyakov all were heroes of the past. But he just could be a hero of today.

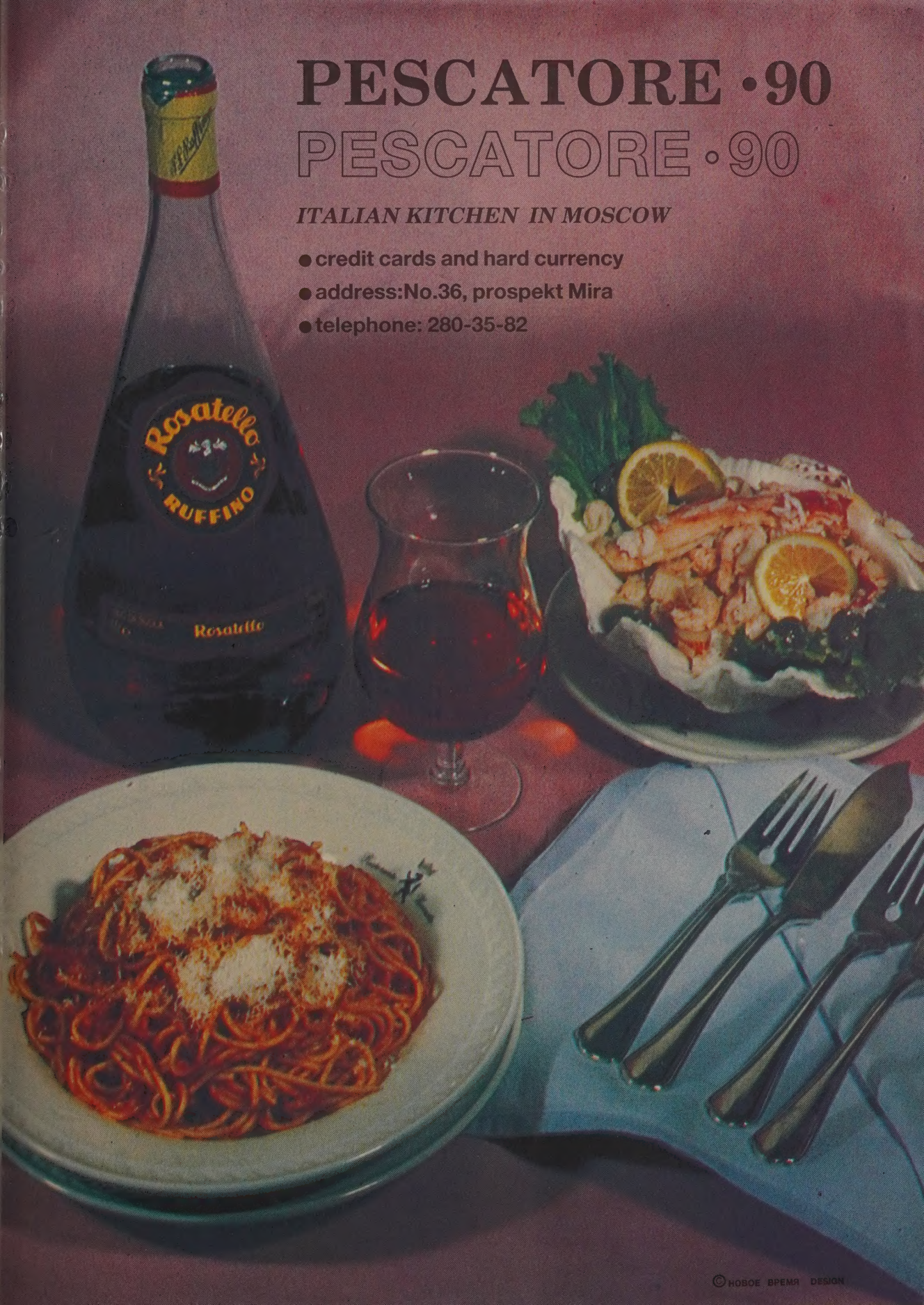
The letter signed by the 11 angry men and single woman is very much like last year's letter of 53, which later turned out to be a letter of 52. But it is more mixed up, hysterical and illogical. "Let's come to our senses, let the young and old in the country rise up. Let's say No! to the invaders and destroyers... the last line of resistance... a terrible disaster.... demagogues and evil plotters... unconcealed political machinations... lies... they are making the people slaves... quartering the tortured body of the country..." There is a passage about those leaving the party who are "betrayers and traitors and demand their former comrades be hanged." And in the text there is an appeal to the young and old, to the workers and the peasants. And, of course, to the army which will become the bulwark of the healthy forces. To the Muslims, Buddhists and Protestants (they left out Judaists, which is indicative). There is an appeal to the Church, though the letter was published the day the relics of Saint Serafim of Sarov began their route across Russia and before the beginning of this event, which was holy to believers, Patriarch Aleksii said something diametrically opposite to that which Alexander Tizyakov and his associates preach so zealously from the pages of Communist newspapers.

And there's an appeal to women. But, note, not to all, but only to those who have rejected their "natural right to be a mother, to continue their family line." At first I was surprised: why did Alexander Tizyakov only appeal to these sisters of mine for something he considered holy? What about those of us with children? Or old maids?... But after a while I guessed why. Only those women should be taken that have subjected themselves to the greatest sacrifice – not becoming a mother. For they're not going just anywhere, but to the ax.

"A Word to the People" calls Russia to the ax – and that is all that is absolutely clear in the incomprehensible, hysterical, mixed up text. Alexander Tizyakov (he signed the letter last, so by naming him first all the time I make the authors equally important) together with the main Russian writer Bondarev, together with the good writer Rasputin and the singer Zykina openly makes an appeal to overthrow the legally elected democratic leaders of Russia, having first smeared their names and discredited them. It's a call for the people to rise up. A call to violence. And they say that there are other leaders ready to lead Russia down the right path.

Very ingenious. But so boring. Nothing will come of it. For us an appeal to rise up against the legally elected government is nothing new, and not even reprehensible. If someone said that the party's power should be taken away from it there would be a real repercussion.

"A tragedy of unprecedented magnitude has befallen us." Those are the first words of the examined text. By God, you blasphemers, what tragedy? The nine republics and the President of the USSR, it seems, have agreed... Gorbachev met with "the Group of Seven," and was given a hearty welcome there... Yeltsin has issued a decree on departification – a practical step in carrying out the annulment of Article 6. Is that all? Yes. But for Alexander Tizyakov it's the end of the world.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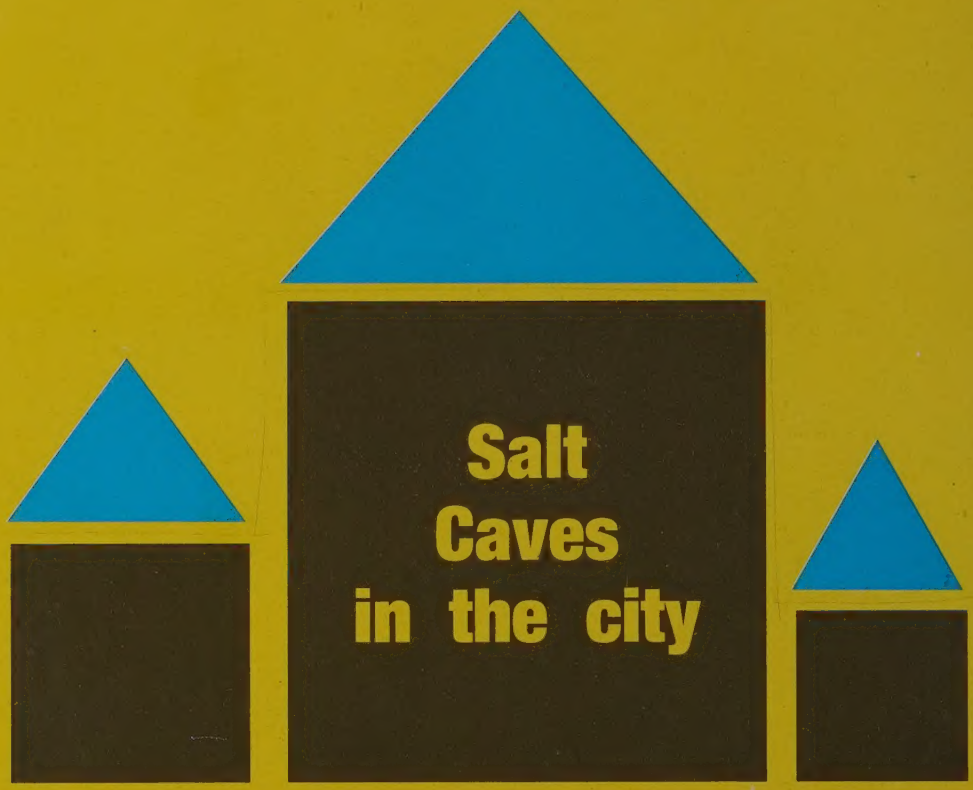

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